



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



3 2044 103 258 315

THE EXTINCTION OF ARMAMENTS AND WAR

A. W. ALDERSON

182
72



HARVARD LAW LIBRARY

Gift of
James Munson Barnard
and
Augusta Barnard

RECEIVED JUN 2 1921

66



**THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY
OF
ARMAMENTS AND WAR**



Bj

THE
EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY
OF
ARMAMENTS AND WAR

£
+

By
ALBERT WILLIAM ALDERSON

LONDON
P. S. KING & SON
ORCHARD HOUSE
WESTMINSTER

1908

JUN 2 1921

THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY OF ARMAMENTS AND WAR

CHAPTER I.

IN the matter of armaments and wars the nineteenth century (and beginning of the twentieth) differs little from preceding ages. Vast strides have been made in the applied sciences, which have immensely increased the material prosperity of the world, and, as regards intercommunication, the nations have been brought within fewer hours of each other than they once were days. In all respects great changes, mainly for the better, have been effected during the last hundred years, but there has seemingly been little alteration in the frequency of wars, in the burden of armaments. Indeed, in the latter respect the present day seems to have reached a point untouched by and undreamt of in former ages. There have never been such vast armies as those we see around us to-day. The direct expenditure of the world on armaments at the end of the nineteenth century is, at a rough estimate, not far short of £300,000,000 per annum ; the indirect cost, represented by the wasted labour of the enormous peace establishments of the various armies, runs into many millions more. Altogether the world spends about £500,000,000 per annum during peace on armaments. Capitalised at 5 per cent. this represents a sum of £10,000,000,000. And that is not all

2 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

the tale. This heavy burden is considered preferable to the still vaster expense and misery which wars ever cause. Efforts have been made, more especially of late years, to devise some means of lessening armaments, of avoiding recourse to war, but no progress has been made. Armaments are continually increasing, and wars have occurred in all quarters of the world within recent memory. It is true that the wars of the nineteenth century were not nearly so lengthy as those of previous eras. They were likewise less frequent. But what they have lost in length and frequency they have fully gained in expense and destructiveness. Since mid-nineteenth century there have been the Crimean War, 1854, the Italian Campaigns, 1859, the War of Secession, 1861, the Danish War, 1864, the Austro-Prussian Campaign, 1866, the Franco-Prussian War, 1870, the Russo-Turkish War, 1877, the China-Japan War, 1894, the Spanish-American, 1898, the Anglo-Boer, 1899, the Russo-Japanese, 1904. This list takes no account of minor wars, such as the Indian Mutiny, the Afghan Wars, Transvaal, 1881, Egypt, 1882 and onwards, Greco-Turkish, 1896, perennial disturbances in the Balkans, various wars in South America, and so forth. All these wars have cost in the aggregate many thousands of lives, many thousands of millions of money. And this within a space of only half-a-century—an odd afternoon in the world's history. It is unnecessary to go further into the historical aspect of the question. History shows an unbroken vista of armaments and wars. Innumerable books give the fullest particulars about wars, their cost and course, their effects near and remote. There is also a voluminous literature dealing with the various proposals for avoiding war, and detailing a thousand opinions for and against the possibility of its abolition. The plain fact is evident, that it has never proved possible to abolish armament or war, and that at the present day we are no nearer that

consummation than we ever were. It is held on practically all hands that war and armaments will always exist, and that the future in that respect will not differ from the past. And all the facts we are told go to prove that assertion. War finds its root in our imperfect human nature, and until that is radically altered we shall hope in vain for a warless world. Of course, if war finds its cause in human nature, and if that nature is virtually impossible of alteration, there is no more to be said. But I venture to think, and it will be the aim of this short work to prove, that the causes of war are not in human nature at all, that we need not bother about transforming our earthly nature into something more heavenly before we can rid ourselves of the war scourge. The questions awaiting answer are simply these: What is the cause (or causes) of war, not of this war or of that war, but of every war? and, secondly, Is this cause (or causes) removable? We have the effects of the disease before our eyes: all there is to be done is to find out what causes the disease, and then to remove that cause. When that is done the disease will automatically disappear. I do not suppose that the disappearance of armaments and war will produce the millennium, but neither is it true that we must wait for the millennium before we see the last war.

CHAPTER II.

WAR is constantly being associated in various ways with Empire ; it is therefore of use to give a few moments to the consideration of Empires. The dictionary definition of the word is : " Supreme control or dominion, the territory under the dominion of an emperor." But leaving definition aside, one may ask, of what use is an Empire to the people of which it consists ? To-day there are several Empires in existence : the British, Russian, Chinese, &c. Do they differ from those of the past : the Roman, the Byzantine, &c. ? These latter have " fallen." Will the former likewise " fall " ? And if so, why ? Let us take the British Empire as it exists to-day, and examine it carefully and see whether any generalisations universally applicable can be derived from such examination. The area, population and various facts concerning the British Empire are stated in dozens of books of reference, and scores of political writers have taken this subject as their theme. It is therefore unnecessary to recapitulate any details. The first thing that strikes one is the extraordinary heterogeneousness which characterises the various territories called the British Empire. England, India, Australia, South Africa, Canada, &c., scattered all over the world, are yet one, we are told, in loyalty to crown and flag. There seems very little affinity between, say, the Hindoo of Bengal and the English farm labourer, nevertheless they are grouped together politically on the map as being part of the same Empire. And certainly the same flag flies over both. Is, then, the flag the bond of Empire ? Is it only necessary that a series of communities, differing in race, religion,

language, traditions, customs, in fact in nearly everything, acknowledge one and the same flag, for them to be united ? To the present writer, the unity conferred simply by flag and crown seems a strange sort of unity—in fact, to put it plainly, it seems but a delusion. Take the case of language for instance.

The population of the territories called the British Empire is about 350,000,000. But of this population only about 50,000,000 speak English, the remainder speaking various tongues, the Indian languages preponderating. Thus the first fact to be noted is that only one out of seven of the population of the British Empire can speak English. There is nothing new in that, it may be urged ; that fact has long been known. Quite true ; nevertheless a few deductions from and illustrations of that fact will prove of value. The centre of the British Empire is London, and it is there that one hears most about Imperialism, the Imperial heritage of England, the Mother Country and Daughter lands, the brightest jewels in England's crown, &c. But to give a clear idea to the Londoner of what the British Empire really is, London should undergo some radical changes. At present London is practically an entirely English-speaking town. When you walk down a London street almost everyone you meet is an English-speaker ; English is the mother tongue of the vast majority, and the remainder can nearly all speak English. But if London were an accurate reproduction in miniature, an in-small, of the British Empire, only one-seventh of the population would be able to speak English. On walking down a street, of all the people you would meet only one out of seven would be able to understand you were you to speak English to them ; suppose a knot of twenty-one people were clustered at some shop window, only three of its group would know English, the other eighteen would speak some not-English tongue. Or again, to use another illustration, suppose you went to a theatre

6 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

and that there were seven actors on the stage performing the play, only one of the seven would speak his part in English, the other six would speak not-English. Of every seven columns in a newspaper only one would be English; you buy a book and only each seventh page is English; suppose the book has three hundred and fifty pages of reading matter, only the odd fifty would be in English. Or to put the matter in another way, only each seventh word of each sentence in the book would be English. Similar examples could of course be multiplied indefinitely. If now London were to suddenly find itself in the situation sketched above, namely, one-seventh English and six-sevenths not-English, would not such situation be of serious detriment to the English-speaking Londoner? Or, to put it plainly, how much of London would be of any value to the English-speaking Londoner? The answer, it seems to me, is plain enough: only one-seventh would be of use; the remaining six-sevenths, for all the use they would be to the English-speaking Londoner, might as well be Paris or Berlin. This imaginary picture I have drawn of London is a faithful representation of the British Empire. To better illustrate to you my meaning, let us leave London and go to another part of the Empire.

You go to Canada, landing at Quebec. You find the British flag flying at Quebec, and also (I believe) the effigy of the King of England on the stamps and coinage. You knew, of course, that Canada was part and parcel of England's Empire; but you are naturally gratified to find out here the same flag, reminding you of home. But it is about the only thing that does remind you of home. You pass into the streets of the town. On all sides the language you hear spoken is French. You buy a newspaper: French. You accost a cabman: French. You enter a shop to make a purchase: French. We will

suppose you wish to find journalistic employment. You enter a newspaper office: if you speak no French your services are not required. The same as regards the theatre: French. Mercantile and other offices: French. Everywhere you feel the influence of the invisible inscription written all over Quebec: "Only French-speakers need apply," which in your case also means, "No English-speaker need apply." In short, if you cannot speak French you will probably starve. And this in an English—an *English* colony. Suppose that there came out on the same boat with you a young Frenchman; he naturally is not an English subject, and the sight of the English flag and the King's head does not awaken any home memories in him. Why should they? Is not he a Frenchman, and is he not in an English colony? But every avenue of employment and intercourse which was shut to you—an Englishman in an English colony—is open to him, a Frenchman in a foreign country. In short, it amounts to this: in Quebec, an English colony, you will find that the fact that you are an Englishman is a crushing, a killing handicap; and you will also find that the fact that your young friend above-mentioned is not English, but French, is of enormous advantage to him. If London were to become like Quebec, it would be virtually a French-speaking town. Let me suppose the case of a Londoner living and earning his living in London. Suppose he leaves London and goes on a journey. On returning to London, however, he finds one change. He finds the English flag above London, and that London is still, as it was before, the capital of the British Empire. But everywhere he goes he hears nothing but French spoken. He buys a London paper: French. He goes to the theatre: French. He speaks to various people in the streets, in shops, in hotels, &c.: all French. He will also notice something else. I said above, Let me suppose the

8 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

case of a Londoner *living and earning his living in London*. Our Londoner will now find that he will no longer be able to earn a living in London, because he cannot speak French ; he will not now be "living and earning his living in London," he will have to leave London, and go to some place where English is spoken ; if he stays in London he will very likely starve, in any case he will suffer grievously in every way. To cut a long story short, he is ruined. And remember, absolutely nothing is changed in London but the language, everything else remains exactly the same. The flag has not been touched, nor the constitution, nor the race, nor religion, nor anything. The sole change is the alteration in the tongue. To put the matter in another way: suppose I, the present writer, were by some miracle endowed with absolute and omnipotent power over the world, power to alter at will the conditions now obtaining. I might at once order that all the newspapers in England were henceforth to be published not in English but in some other tongue. What would be the result ? Every newspaper in the kingdom would be ruined. Papers which used to sell half a million copies per day would now scarce sell half a dozen copies in a week. All the present proprietors and shareholders of newspapers would find the value of their properties reduced to nothing. All editors, reporters, contributors, and all the employees, would lose their billets. For the purposes of this illustration I have selected the newspaper profession, though, of course, in the same circumstances the same thing would happen to any other calling. A deputation of newspapermen might call on me. I should, logically, be perfectly justified in addressing them as follows : " You complain that you are ruined. Well, I have not altered your race, of which you are constantly boasting ; I have not altered the flag of which you are so proud ; the vast Empire about which you are ever declaiming is no less

vast, and not less populous than it was ; your religion is unaltered, so are the laws, the constitution, &c., &c. In fact, with the one exception, I have changed absolutely nothing. And yet you say you are ruined. The single fact of having to publish in not-English has ruined you. Does not that prove that all your wealth, all your prosperity, your daily bread, is the outcome of publishing in the English tongue ? Once you are deprived of the English language you are ruined. Of what avail to you are, then, the English flag, English rule, the crown, the empire, your religion, constitution, &c., &c. They avail you nothing. You have them all ; I have not deprived you of one of them, and you starve. But the very moment I give you back your language, your life returns. This, then, is the point I wish to make : your prosperity is solely due to the English language, to that entirely and to nothing else. With it you live, without it you die."

Apply the foregoing to the Province of Quebec. Of what possible use is that colony to an Englishman, a country where nothing but French is spoken. The British flag flies there, but of what value is that to you if you cannot understand, be understood, or earn a living. Quebec, being in Canada, is part of the British Empire, is called an English colony. I submit that it is nothing of the kind. If Quebec is an English colony, if it is part of the British Empire, then indeed words have lost their meaning, black means no longer black, white no longer white. If Quebec City is an English city, if it is a part of the British Empire, then Paris is an English city, and France is a part of the British Empire. It is true that Quebec is called an English colony, but that does not make it one. You may call a cow an elephant, but it, nevertheless, remains a cow.

The point, then, I wish to press home is this : that the flag goes for nothing in determining the nationality

10 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

of a country. According to the theory at present obtaining, any territory bearing the English flag is part of the British Empire, any country flying, say, the French flag is part of the French Empire, and so forth. Nothing can be further from the truth. Why is London part of the British Empire? Because it is the capital of England, flies the English flag, is inhabited by men of English race, is under English rule and Government, &c., &c.? Nothing of the kind. London is English simply and solely for one reason: that it speaks the English tongue. Remove the English language from London and the very instant you do so you make it a foreign town, despite flag, rule, race, crown, government and everything else. And this statement is in no wise exaggerated. Suppose, as I have mentioned before, that an Englishman, after a long absence, were to return to London. When he left it, it spoke English; now on his return it speaks, say, only French. In those circumstances, what difference is there for him between it and Paris? Absolutely none. But a London which spoke only French would be an exact counterpart of Quebec. If it make no difference that Quebec speak French, then it can also make no difference that London speak French too. By pursuing this argument we arrive at other interesting conclusions. Shakespeare is always accounted an English poet? Why? Because he was of English blood, born in England, an English subject, under English flag and rule? Not in the least. Shakespeare is an English poet solely because he wrote in the English language. Suppose that he, though born and bred, &c., in England had only been able to speak, say, Turkish. He would, therefore, have written all his plays in Turkish. Would he in those circumstances be considered an English writer?

Another illustration: We have seen that in Quebec, an English colony, under the English flag, an Englishman cannot make a living because he cannot speak

French. He is, therefore, forced to leave Quebec. He considers where to go, and to the south he sees another country. He is loth to go there because it is a foreign country, under a foreign flag. But he must move, and that quickly, otherwise he will very soon starve under the beneficent English flag in Quebec. So he goes to the foreign country, the United States, say to New York. And there what a contrast! Above him flies a foreign flag, and he is under the administration of an alien government. But wherever he goes he hears on all sides the English language just as in England. He buys a newspaper : English ; he accosts a passer-by : English ; theatres : English ; offices, shops, hotels, &c. : English. Compare this with his experiences in Quebec under the English flag. In Quebec, part of the British Empire, under the English flag, he cannot understand or be understood, cannot earn a living, would starve, and therefore has to leave the country ; in New York, a foreign town under a foreign flag, he understands, is understood, earns a living, and can make his home there. In the one case, under the English flag, he is to all intents and purposes in France ; in the second case, under the American flag, he is to all intents and purposes in England. In the first case, under his own flag, he is a foreigner ; in the second instance, under an alien flag, he is at home.

It amounts to this, then, that an alien flag spells home when accompanied by the English language, and the English flag means a foreign country when it does not fly over the English tongue. Suppose, again, a wandering Englishman returns to England and finds there nothing but the French language, and that he then crosses the Channel to France and finds in that country nothing but English spoken. In which of the two countries will he find himself at home? The truth is that flag, race, customs, crown, creed, and everything else go for absolutely nothing ; the only

12 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

thing that counts is language. Let any man who reads these lines put to himself the question : " To what do I owe the fact that I am earning a living ? to what do I owe all the pleasure I derive from my friends and acquaintances ? what, in fact, is it that makes life worth living for me ? " The answer is plain : " Life is life for me solely because I speak the same language as the people around me." Imagine the case of a man who cannot speak the language of the people among whom his lot is cast. At best, it is a living death, social paralysis. To begin with he will find it all but impossible to earn a living ; even if he does manage to eke out a meagre livelihood somehow, what a life he will lead ! He cannot speak to a soul, and none can speak to him ; he cannot find solace in reading, he cannot read a word ; he can have no friends at all, as friendship is impossible without inter-communication ; amid all the swarming multitudes around him he is virtually in solitude ; he is far worse off than the deaf and dumb, for even they have a means of communicating with their fellow-creatures ; he is, practically, simply an animal among other animals ; he is an outcast, he might as well be on an uninhabited island in mid-ocean.

The foregoing, applied to the British Empire, enable us to arrive at conclusions very different to those usually come to. At one blow we reduce the population of the British Empire from 350,000,000 to about 50,000,000, to wit, say 40,000,000 in the British Isles, about 5,000,000 each in Canada (excluding Quebec) and Australasia, and a few odd hundreds of thousands scattered in South Africa, India, &c., &c. But at the same time we add to the population of the British Empire a fresh 90,000,000, namely, the population of the United States of North America. The true, the real Empire of England is the English language ; the sham, the spurious, Empire of England is the one now blazoned on our maps.

The above, making the necessary changes, applies to all empires, ancient and modern, "fallen" and flourishing, past and present. There is no exception to this rule at the present day, there never has been, and, as long as mankind inter-communicates by means of language, there never can be.

CHAPTER III.

SOUTH AFRICA from 1899 to 1902 was the theatre of a war which occasioned much controversy at the time and still is the subject of diametrically different opinions ; therefore, South Africa will serve as well as any other country as a subject of study as regards war.

What was the cause of the war in South Africa 1899—1902 ? For years newspapers, books, political speeches and private opinions, searched the question of this war thoroughly. Some people said the war was a gigantic blunder, that it could have been avoided, that it was a crime against humanity ; the Boer Republics were two States rightly fighting for freedom. Others maintained quite different views on the matter. The mine-owners of Johannesburg were also accused of causing the war, because, it was alleged, under the Boer Government they could not do exactly as they pleased. In fact, all sorts of causes, main and contributory, have been found to account for the war. The Raid of 1896 was also brought forward as evidencing the existence at that date of a plot against the independence of the Transvaal. One party maintained that the grievances of the Outlander population in Johannesburg were very real, the other side contended that these grievances were merely manufactured, and so on, and so on. Those interested can, by consulting the back files of the newspapers and the various books published concerning this matter, obtain an infinity of opinions on the subject. I venture to think, however, that there is room for a few considerations on the subject of this war. In 1899 there were two Dutch Republics, the Transvaal and Orange Free State, in South

Africa, and these two States resisted England till May, 1902. What was the object of the Boers in fighting? Was it not to maintain the two Dutch States? The first fact I note is that the Boers spoke Dutch, and I therefore ask the following questions, which, I think, answer themselves: Would the Boers have fought to maintain a Dutch-speaking State if they had been unable to speak Dutch? Suppose the Boers had not been able to speak a word of Dutch but could only speak, say, Italian. Would they, in that case, have fought thirty-two months to establish a Dutch-speaking State? On the contrary, they would have fought thirty-two months *against* the maintenance of a Dutch-speaking State; they would only have fought for an Italian-speaking State. Again, to what did the various Boer leaders owe their leadership? You will reply: Various circumstances, ability, talent, the possession of the influence conferred by property, &c., &c. I submit that it was none of these that gave the leaders their power. They owed their power simply and solely to the fact that they spoke the same tongue as their followers—in this case Dutch. Suppose the various Boer leaders had been unable to speak a word of Dutch, would they ever have attained leadership? and, if by some miracle they had obtained power, would they have been able to retain it? What chance of election would the six hundred and seventy members of the English House of Commons have had if they had been unable to speak English? What was it that enabled Napoleon to make for himself, in France, the career he did? Was it his remarkable abilities, his military genius? Had his ability been ten thousand times as great as it was, it would have availed him nothing had he been unable to speak French. Suppose that Napoleon had only been able to speak English, not a word of anything else—in which country, England or France,

16 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

would he have sought a career? It is true that Napoleon's mother-tongue, I believe, was Italian and not French. But he spoke French exceedingly well, being, I believe, educated entirely in that language. Had he been able to speak only Italian, what chance would he have stood of a career in France?

It is precisely the same with the Boer leaders. Their power and influence reposed on one circumstance alone, namely, that they spoke the same tongue as the other Boers. It therefore also follows that if the Boer leaders had only been able to speak English (*a*) they would not have been able to take any active part in influencing the Boer councils, and (*b*) they would not have desired the establishment and maintenance of the two Dutch States, as such States would offer them no career whatever.

Another conclusion deducible from the above considerations is this: that a man as regards his attitude towards his fellow-men—his international relations, so to speak,—is really merely a machine, a puppet, an automaton, the tool of his language. Let us revert to the South African War. Suppose, say, a dozen men living in South Africa in October, 1899—which side, of England or the Republics, will these dozen men take. That side-taking will be entirely and solely guided by the tongue they speak, and not by any other consideration. Race, religion, &c., &c., will have absolutely no influence whatever. I say that if those dozen men speak only English—even if there be not one single drop of English blood in them—they will take the English side; if they speak only Dutch, they will declare for the Dutch. If they speak neither English nor Dutch, but some other tongue, say Italian, they will be hostile to both the English and Dutch sides, and will favour the Italian side; that is to say, if ever, through some strange spin of circumstances, an Italian side were to develop itself, making the matter three-cornered, English, Dutch,

Italian, they would unhesitatingly support the Italian interest as against the other two.

This, then, is the universal law to be noted: a man's side-taking is determined by his language.

There is not, never has been, and never can be, an exception to the rule that water runs down-hill. Sometimes water runs up-hill, but it is pumped up; it does not go up-hill of its own accord. If you wish to know the side any men will take in any question affecting more than one community, it is necessary only to know one thing—what tongue do they speak? Nothing else. Whether it be in South Africa, in Canada, in Europe, or anywhere else, whether the century be the present one or another, whether the race be white, black, yellow, or other, it is all the same, the above-stated law holds good. Let us take a hypothetical case. Here are three communities, A, B, and C. A and B prepare for war and finally come to blows. You ask me, which side will C take? I answer, if C speak the same tongue as A it will support A, if C speak the same tongue as B it will support B, if C speak a different tongue to both A and B it will really be hostile to both, though openly probably neutral; if C speak the same tongue as A and B it will be friendly towards both; if there is a leaning either way it will most probably be due to some economic consideration.

Let us return to our dozen men in South Africa above mentioned. I say that if they speak only English they will support the English side against the Dutch, even if they be entirely of Dutch race and blood themselves. Why? Because a Dutch-speaking State is virtually ruin and death to them. They cannot speak Dutch; what place is there then for them in a community that only speaks Dutch? It means social, political, and commercial suffocation. They cannot live in such an atmosphere; for them it is like being taken from the fresh air and being plunged

18 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

in a receptacle containing some fluid they cannot breathe, say carbonic acid. They must soon perish.

In the above instance I take the case of the English-speaker thrown among Dutch-speakers, but of course the reverse is equally true: the Dutch-speaker thrown among only English-speakers will die.

During the South African War, rifles, ammunition, mules, locomotives, guns, &c., were in use by both combatants. There were, say, rifles on the Boer side just the same as men on the Boer side, and, say, railway locomotives on the English side as well as men. Nobody has ever suggested that these locomotives, say, had any control over the part they played in the conflict in which they were engaged. Take, for instance, the case of some locomotive. It, say, hauled English troops to the front to fight the Boers, &c., in fact did all it could to damage the Boer cause and advance that of England. But suppose that in some skirmish the Boers captured this locomotive. Thenceforward it carried arms, ammunition, &c., for the Boers to be used against the English; in fact, it did the exact opposite of what it was doing only a few hours, perhaps minutes, before; now it does all it can to hurt English interests and to maintain Boer interests. Why this sudden change? The question appears childish. The reply is, of course, that the locomotive has no will, no feelings of its own, is merely a passive machine, a tool, and its action supports this side or that according to who has control of it; in order to know which side will have the locomotive's help, it is only necessary to know who happens to have possession of it. You do not require to know anything at all about the locomotive itself; it may be fifty horse power or five hundred horse power; it may be efficient at its work or the reverse; it may be able to run forty miles per hour or only crawl at five miles; no matter what its qualities be it will answer implicitly to the hand in control. If it

be of five hundred horse power, that five hundred horse power will be used for the Boers and against the English if the Boers have control of it; and *vice versa* if the English are in possession. In other words, tell me who is in control of the locomotive and I will tell you exactly which side it will take. I think I can safely say that there is no contradicting this; the fact is evident. In the above illustration I have taken the case of a locomotive, but the same applies to rifles, ammunition, horses, mules, &c., &c. And I also assert—and this is my point—that it applies in exactly the same manner to the men, to the human beings who took part in the South African War. I say that the case of the men does not differ one hair-breadth from the case of the locomotive sketched above. They are, from the highest to the lowest, simply passive machines, the tools of some power behind them.

Take the case of a community living in South Africa, numbering, say, 1,000 people. This community, I will suppose, is entirely of English blood. Search how you will, as far back as you will, and you will not find a single drop of foreign admixture. Their race is thus pure English. To make the case still stronger, suppose these one thousand were born in England, bred in English customs, soaked through and through with English traditions, laws, faith, &c., &c., in fact they are more English than the English themselves. But suppose further that these one thousand cannot speak a single word of the English language, they speak only Dutch. Such being the case I ask you (*a*) Which side would that community take in the war of 1899—1902; (*b*) Would they have any control whatever over their choice of sides, or rather, would they have had any choice at all in the matter; could they say: “We will support England” or “We will support the Boers,” when the time came to take sides? (*c*) Supposing

they had any choice, which side would they naturally wish to take?

They would take the Boer side; they would naturally desire to take that side and they would be unable to take any other. Suppose that community establishes a State, say a Republic. Would not that Republic be a Dutch-speaking Republic (like the Transvaal)? Would it be possible for that community to establish anything else *but* a Dutch-speaking Republic? Could they, even if they wanted to, establish an English-speaking Republic? Is it not evident that they *must*, *are compelled* to, establish a Dutch-speaking Republic and nothing else? They have absolutely no voice whatever in the matter; they are machines, like the locomotive. They cannot possibly establish, say, an English-speaking Republic with not a word of English among them. Neither, for instance, can they establish, say, a Russian-speaking Republic. Why? Because they cannot speak a word of Russian. And, furthermore, they do not want to set up an English-speaking Republic. Why should they? Why on earth should a community that speaks only Dutch wish to establish a Republic that would only speak English? Would a community of Frenchmen wish to establish an English-speaking State, even if they were able to do so? Would you, who read these lines—supposing you speak only English—wish to establish a State in which the only language you speak (English) would be unknown? But, as I trust I have proved in a previous chapter, an English-speaking State is an English State, and a Dutch-speaking State is a Dutch State, quite irrespective of everything but language. If London spoke only Dutch, it would certainly be a Dutch town, whatever be said to the contrary.

Again, take another illustration: Suppose, say, six men whom we will call A, B, C; X, Y, Z. I will suppose that during the South African War A, B, C

fought on the Boer side and X, Y, Z on the English. Why? Because A, B, C were Dutch-speaking and X, Y, Z English-speakers. A, B, C, speaking Dutch, would naturally gravitate to the Dutch side. All their acquaintances and friends, their relations and their own families, would naturally be Dutch-speakers. The men they would look up to as leaders, the newspapers and books that would influence their opinions and actions, would be Dutch. Only on the Dutch side would A, B, C find the things that men most desire: leadership, power, position, emolument. It would naturally be to their interest that the Dutch Republic be maintained, they would not wish to see the English win, they would do their utmost to prevent such an ending to the conflict. Making the necessary changes, exactly the same thing is true of X, Y, Z.

The picture can be amplified by putting concrete names at will to the abstract letters A, B, C; X, Y, Z. Suppose X to be the commander-in-chief of the English army in South Africa, and A the general-in-chief of the Boer forces. Why is it that X is on the English side? how is it he is not commanding the Boers? How is it that A is a Boer general and not an English general? Simply on account of the language. Had X been unable to speak English he would certainly never have been commander of an English army; I believe it is a fact that a knowledge of English is essential to admission to the commissioned ranks of the English army. On the other hand, had X spoken only Dutch he would naturally have sought a career among Dutch-speakers, his natural ability would have brought him to the front, and he would quite possibly have commanded the Boer forces, instead of, as actually was the case, the British. The same of course holds good as regards A.

Another illustration. Suppose I, the present writer, were dowered with the power of changing the

22 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

languages of anyone at will. If, then, in 1899 I had reversed the languages of the conflicting parties : every Dutch-speaker would suddenly forget all his Dutch and be able to speak only English, and the English-speakers in England and South Africa would all at once speak solely Dutch. In those circumstances, would the burghers of the Transvaal and Orange Free State have fought to maintain two *Dutch*-speaking States ? Would not they have been bitterly opposed to such States ? Would not the Transvaal have been an English-speaking country, a country where an English-speaker would be entirely at home and a Dutch-speaker entirely forlorn ? In short, would not things have been exactly the reverse of what they were ?

Any man is simply the tool of his language. A man speaking Dutch would strongly favour a Dutch-speaking State ; change his language to English, and he at once favours an English-speaking State ; to Italian, he supports Italian ; to Russian, he supports Russian, and so on to infinity. Change a man's language every minute and he changes his allegiance every minute ; now he violently supports an English-speaking State, a minute afterwards he upholds an Italian-speaking State with equal vehemence, and so on. He is like an ordinary white light which can show any colour according to how it is manipulated. Take an ordinary light, it shows white. Pop a green glass in front, it shows green ; a red, it shows red ; a purple, it shows purple, &c., &c. It is simply the tool of its operator. Again, who holds a telephone ear-piece responsible for its sayings ? One minute it may support one thing, and the next speak in diametrical opposition. Yet who suggests that the telephone ear-piece has anything to do with the views it enunciates ? Everyone knows that it simply repeats mechanically what is spoken into the mouth-piece at the other end of the wire. All human beings are like that mouth-

piece : they simply repeat what their language tells them to say, the real power is the language.

Suppose at a banquet a statesman rises and strongly advocates, say, a German State ? That statesman is not enunciating his own views, he has none, he is simply a puppet ; the strings are being pulled by his language, in this case, German. He is simply the telephone ear-piece mechanically repeating what his language dictates. Change our statesman's language into French, and, the very same instant, he has forgotten all about the German State he was advocating but a minute ago, now his sympathies are all for a French State. Take, say, the Prime Ministers of England, France, Italy, &c. Not one of those gentlemen would occupy the position he fills were it not that each speaks the tongue of the country he leads. Give me the power to change the language of each, and I extinguish them one and all as easily as I blow out a candle. They are each the servant of his language, they *must*, they are *forced to*, obey its behests.

The argument anent South Africa may then be kernelled as follows : If there had never been the Dutch tongue in South Africa there would never have been Dutch-speaking States there, and if there had never been any Dutch-speaking States there would never have been a war. Why ? Because the divergence of interests created by the presence of more than one language would never have existed. The fact that, say, one half of the population of South Africa speaks Dutch causes the interests of that half to be bound up with the Dutch language, whereas the interests of the other half are bound up with the English tongue. One half *must* support Dutch, the other half *must* support English. The one half, wherever it settles, *must* establish what is virtually a Dutch State ; it also desires to establish and maintain a Dutch State because its interests impel it to ;

24 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

the English half, of course, finds its interests in an English State. There thus exists a Dutch "State-within-a-State," and an English "State-within-a-State," the two are like oil and water—they can never mix and become one as long as the two tongues persist. Why is it that there is question in South Africa of only two communities? Because there are only two languages. In every country, in every epoch, without a single exception, there are always as many communities as there are languages. Suppose that in South Africa, in addition to the Dutch and English tongues, there were also the Italian and Portuguese tongues. As a result there would be four "States-within-a-State," English, Dutch, Italian and Portuguese. Each would be bitterly hostile to the other three. Each would have its every interest bound up in its own language. Each would view with bitter detestation any increase or encroachment of any one of the other three. To the Italian-speaker all the other three would be foreign, only the community that spoke Italian would be "home" to him. But suddenly alter the language of the four communities. Make them all of one and the same tongue. Immediately the artificial difference of interest, previously caused by the language, ceases to exist. The man, previously cited, who supported the Italian group would no longer have any reason to support one group more than another. They would all be the same to him now, he would be at home everywhere, instead of only in one portion.

An illustration of what the presence of more than one language means is the following: Suppose there are two men, let us call them O and H. O is so constituted that he can only breathe oxygen, any other atmosphere is fatal to him. H, on the other hand, can only live in an atmosphere of hydrogen, any other gas than hydrogen means death to him. It is evident that the interests of those two men are

diametrically different. The one *must* support oxygen, and be hostile to every other gas; every vital interest of the other is bound up with the maintenance of hydrogen, he *must* oppose all other gases with all his might. And these two men have no voice in the matter, it is not a thing which depends on their free will. O cannot say: "Henceforth I will uphold hydrogen"; even if he sincerely wish to do so—which of course is not likely—he cannot, because that gas will soon suffocate him. Each man is the passive instrument of the gas that gives him life, and his every action will be solely influenced by considerations of that gas. These two men also cannot live together: if you place them both in a chamber filled entirely with oxygen, O will be in his natural element and will thrive, H, on the contrary, will soon perish, and *vice versa*. Again, the health of these men will be in exact proportion to the quantity of the gas necessary to each: if oxygen be plentiful O will thrive, if it be deficient he will droop and will not be in full health.

Now, introduce both these men into, say, a room, and tell them they will have to live the remainder of their lives in that room. What will be the result? To live in that room O must have an atmosphere of oxygen (which is death to H). H, on the contrary, must have one of hydrogen (which will kill O). A desperate struggle will ensue between O and H, a fight for life. If O wins, oxygen will be the gas which will fill the room and H will die; if H wins, hydrogen, and this will kill O. If O and H are of about equal strength, they will fight indecisively until both are exhausted for the time; after an interval of recuperation they will fight again, with the same result; and so on for ever. The fight will never stop permanently till one or the other is decisively beaten. Then the winner will fill the room with the gas that he can breathe and the loser will perish. A compromise would be no good. If the room get filled with a

26 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

mixture of oxygen and hydrogen—(there would be quarrels about the degree of mixture, as to whether it should be half-and-half, two-thirds and one-third, &c.) —neither O nor H can attain full health ; both will be sickly, both will feel they are being stunted ; the truce will not be of long duration. There will be no *final* peace until one or the other is dead. What is quite evident is that all the strife is caused by the two gases—the two men only fight because the gases force them to. Suppose now that I suddenly reverse matters, and make *hydrogen* indispensable to O and *oxygen* to H. The result is that O would now fight for hydrogen, instead of fighting for oxygen as he was a minute ago ; and H would now support oxygen and be bitterly opposed to hydrogen. But let us now change the condition of these two men so that they can both breathe and live in the *same* atmosphere. What happens ? The fighting stops at once. They have now nothing to fight about. It makes no difference to either of them now what the atmosphere in the room may be, their interests are now the same. In the above illustration I have taken two men and two different gases, but of course the number of men and gases can be unlimited.

This example gives a picture not only of South Africa, but of any country containing more than one tongue, in fact of the World. In the case of South Africa simply substitute English for oxygen and Dutch for hydrogen, or *vice versa*. It therefore follows that neither the Boers nor the English Government and its representatives, nor the Johannesburg Outlanders, nor the mining magnates, nor, in fact, anyone at all, either in South Africa or anywhere else, had anything whatever to do with causing the South African War. That war would have happened in any case, even if the various people who are blamed for the war had never existed. Even supposing they really wished to cause a war, they could

not do so unless circumstances were favourable (which means unless there were more than one language). A builder cannot build without materials. Dissension and war are inevitable in every country—not only South Africa—which contains more than one tongue; it is as certain as that two and two make four, as sure as the sun will rise to-morrow. No man or men who ever lived can prevent war or cause war, unless by the consent of circumstances. To accuse the various men connected with the South African War of causing it is as correct as accusing them of causing the sun to rise and set. They had nothing to do with it; it happened that they were living when the outburst took place. If they had never lived it would have taken place just the same, and the people who did happen to be living would have played the parts in it which actually were played by the names we know. The people living in San Francisco did not cause the earthquake which destroyed that city; they happened to be living there when it occurred, and therefore their names are connected with it. The Anglo-Boer War was entirely due to the presence of two languages: if throughout South Africa there had been no language but Dutch, there would have been no war; if there had been no language but English, there would also have been no war. Although it is a fact that no one could have prevented the South African War (seeing that the country contained two languages), it is, nevertheless, true that its date of occurrence and conduct were, to a large extent, under the control of the leading characters. For instance, I have no control over eating or not eating: in order to live I *must* eat, I have absolutely no voice whatsoever in the matter, I cannot say, "In future I will live without eating." But although I have no option as regards eating or not, nevertheless I have the power of deciding *when* I will eat, and *how*

I will eat. I can eat at mid-day or at mid-night or at six in the afternoon or any other time, and I can also eat how I like. In exactly the same way the South African War, for instance, would not have occurred in October, 1899, had the English Government of that date not been composed of the men who actually did constitute it: the Opposition Party would probably have had their own way of acting. It certainly would have occurred, as sure as there is a sun in the sky, but it would not have happened at that particular time. Also, it would not have been conducted in exactly the same manner, as no two men—and no two bodies of men—are exactly alike in their ideas, &c. Give two different architects exactly the same materials and tell them each to build a house independently of one another: the two houses that will result will be far from exactly similar.

Why is it there has been no question in England similar to the one which has rent South Africa? Simply because there is no Dutch language in England. There is no Dutch Party in England; but there would be if half the British Isles spoke Dutch. I do not say, "if half of the British Isles were of Dutch race." I mean, leaving the race exactly as it is at present. In that case half of the six hundred and seventy members of the English House of Commons would be Dutch-speakers, and we should have exactly the same state of affairs in England as there is now in South Africa.

CHAPTER IV.

IT therefore follows, from preceding chapters, that such things as race-hatred, racialism, political consanguinity, do. not exist, and never have existed, either in South Africa or anywhere else. Race has absolutely nothing to do with the direction of a man's activities and interests: that is determined solely by language. A man who is wholly of Dutch race and blood will be bitterly hostile to everything Dutch unless he speak the Dutch tongue. Then he will support Dutch interests, but not otherwise. Race stands for volume and capacity, and language for direction. These two things are entirely distinct. Let me explain. The *capacity* of a steamer is quite distinct from the *direction* in which that steamer is travelling. Suppose our steamer has engines of 10,000 horse-power. Then the *capacity* (as regards speed) of that steamer is represented by 10,000 horse-power. But has that anything to do with the *direction* in which that 10,000 horse-power is employed? Absolutely nothing. That steamer may be using its 10,000 horse-power in the *direction* of New York (that is to say, may be making a voyage to New York). Give the helm a twist and the *direction* can be reversed in a few minutes, and the same steamer will now be employing its horse-power in the *direction* of Liverpool, or London, or Melbourne, or Cape Town, or any other port. The *direction* of a steamer depends on the will of the man at the helm, that is to say, on the will of the person or power in control. It is exactly the same in South Africa (or anywhere else), with human beings as it is with the steamer. The *race* of a man is an indication of the

capacity of that man, but has absolutely nothing at all to do with the *direction* in which that capacity is employed. The *language* of a man is the determining factor in deciding in which *direction* the capacity of that man will be employed. I explain by an example. Some people maintain that the Boer is ignorant, ill-educated, and of no natural ability—in short, is a man of the meanest capacity. Others, on the other hand, contend that he is of great natural shrewdness and intelligence, quick to learn, and of good intellect—in fact, that he is a man of high capacity. I neither uphold nor controvert either of those views; I say they have absolutely nothing to do with the case. What I say is this, that the Boer's capacity, whether it be high or low, will be entirely employed on the side of the language he speaks; that his language will determine the *direction* in which his capacity—whatever it may be—will be employed. The Boer may be the greatest genius that ever trod this earth: if he speak Dutch, then his genius will be placed at the service of Dutch interests; if he speak English, his genius will advance English interests; if Portuguese, Portuguese interests; Russian, Russian interests, and so on to infinity. If, on the other hand, the Boer be the veriest numskull that ever cumbered the ground, then likewise, if he speak Dutch, his small intelligence will be found on the Dutch side; if he speak English it will be found on the English side; if Portuguese, on the Portuguese side, &c., &c.

In the above example I have taken the case of the Boer, but the same applies to every community that has ever existed.

The conclusion to be drawn from the preceding remarks is this: a man's political leanings, his side-taking in any "international" dispute, are entirely artificial. Englishmen, Dutchmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, Russians, &c., &c., can be

manufactured in the same way that boots and cloth and engines, &c. are manufactured. These distinctions are not natural, but purely artificial. A man is not born an Englishman or German, he is simply born a human being, and he takes on his English or German complexion afterwards. Take the 1,000,000 babies that are born in England every year. Those babies when they are born are no more English than they are, say, Italian. They only begin to become English two or three years after they are born, that is to say, *as soon as they begin to speak*. Give me the power to decide which language those 1,000,000 shall speak, and I can make of them what I will, Frenchmen, Germans, Turks, Russians, anything.

Suppose I decide that these 1,000,000 shall speak only, say, Italian. When they reach manhood they will not know a word of any language but Italian—no English, no French, nothing but Italian. And remember, they were born in England of English parents, and have never been near Italy in their lives. What will they have in common with England? Will they feel at home in England, a country of whose language they are entirely ignorant? If they found a State, will it be an English-speaking State? Will English newspapers have a large circulation among them? Which stands the best chance of making a living among them, a publisher of English books or a publisher of Italian? Will they buy many English books, be fervent admirers of English literature, of which, of course, they do not understand a word. Which country will be "home" to them, England or Italy? Suppose any dispute crops up between England and Italy. Will they support England, the land of their birth and race, or will they support Italy, the land of their language? Would they rejoice if they saw English—a tongue which is simply meaningless gabble to them—supplant Italian, a language all of them are at home in? Would they despond if they saw Italian—which

they know—supplant English, which they do not. Would their interest be identical with those of the other 40,000,000 people in England (to say nothing of the odd 100,000,000 in the United States, &c., &c.), or would their interests be wholly divergent? All the above questions answer themselves.

In the above instance I have supposed that I decide that the 1,000,000 babies shall speak Italian. Suppose I decide that they shall speak Russian and not Italian. In that case, simply substitute the word "Russian" for the word "Italian" in the preceding paragraph. And so on.

The truth of the matter is that there is no such thing as an Englishman, an Italian, a German, &c., &c., never has been, and never will be. Anybody is, or may be, a German, an Englishman, &c., &c., exactly as any locomotive can be English, German, &c., according to its possessor.

Any "nationality" can be manufactured at will simply by controlling the language. For example, in the case previously cited, the 1,000,000 babies—raw material—were manufactured into Italians simply by causing them to speak Italian. But they could have been manufactured into anything else just as easily—German, French, &c., &c. By controlling the language you can also change hatred into love, hostility into friendship, enmity into alliance. Let us take a concrete instance in South Africa for example. Suppose we take the Dutchman—whoever he may be—who hates the English more than does anyone else. Nobody is so bitter in his denunciations of them, there is nothing he would not do to injure them, he does everything he possibly can, by word and deed, to damage their interests: in short, he hates them with the bitterness, the most virulent hatred. Change that man's language from Dutch into English. The very minute you do that he entirely alters his attitude. Previously he supported the Dutch through

thick and thin, wished to see them win the war, would only have been too pleased to see the English driven entirely out of South Africa, and has done his very best to aid in accomplishing that result. But now, what a change ! Now he does not wish to see the English expelled from South Africa ; if they get expelled he knows he will have to go with them. Theoretically, of course, he can probably stay behind in South Africa if he wishes, but he knows very well that if he does stay behind he will feel as much at home there as he would if he were suddenly dropped down in, say, the middle of Russia, Moscow for instance. The Russian language is just as intelligible to him as the Dutch language. If he be a journalist, for instance, he stands quite as much chance of a billet on a Russian paper as on a Dutch paper, that is to say, absolutely no chance whatever in either case. To cut a long story short, our man will now fight as strenuously *for* the English as he fought *against* them a few minutes ago. What has wrought this miracle ? Simply the change of language—that and nothing else.

The foregoing enables one to arrive at a definition. What is an Englishman ? An Englishman is any man who speaks the English language. What is a Frenchman ? A Frenchman is any man who speaks the French language. The same as regards the other nations. It may be objected : the American negro speaks English, is he then an Englishman ? He is as much an Englishman as any other man who speaks English. I do not say for one moment that his *capacity*, his *capabilities*, are the same as those of the average inhabitant of England—that he is the equal of the white man ; he is nothing of the sort ; his capacities are far inferior, but the *direction* in which he exercises whatever capabilities he may possess is exactly the same. Everywhere the American negro goes he will spread the English language. He cannot do anything

34 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

else, he only speaks English. If he founds a State, that State will be English-speaking. Some American negroes—freed slaves—founded in the nineteenth century an independent State on the West Coast of Africa. That State—the Republic of Liberia—about half as large again as Ireland in extent, still exists and flourishes, and it is English-speaking just the same as England and the United States, but the inhabitants, of course, are all black.

In the West Indies also there are negro communities, Jamaica for instance, which speak English. Are they also to be reckoned “English”? Undoubtedly so as regards *direction*. Contrast them with other communities of exactly the same race—their common forbears may have been raided in the same African village by the slave traders of years before—also living in the West Indies: Martinique, for instance, and Cuba, contain many negroes, who speak only French and Spanish, respectively. Thus the West Indies present this spectacle: we can select therefrom three communities of exactly the same race (negro) and origin (West Africa) who speak, respectively, only English, French, Spanish and who cannot speak a word of the language (or languages)—some negro tongue or other—which their ancestors in West Africa spoke when they were raided by the slavers, and which the present-day descendants in West Africa of those same ancestors still continue to speak.

It may be urged that identity of language is not sufficient: the New Yorker, say, speaks English, but he is nevertheless not an Englishman, like the Londoner, for instance. Such an objection is only in keeping with the prevalent—erroneous—idea concerning what constitutes an Englishman, a German, &c. The New Yorker, whether he deny it or not—and he probably will, though that will not alter the fact one iota—is just as much an Englishman as the Londoner. The converse of course is equally true: the Londoner

is just as much an American as is the New Yorker. There are differences, but such differences are superficial. No two men are alike, and no two communities are alike. If you take every circumstance into consideration, there is as much difference between London and Manchester (two English cities) as there is between London and New York. By that I mean that if you were to shift Manchester and place it where New York now is, subjecting it, as regards London, to the same influences as New York has been subjected to : immense distance from London, entailing meagre inter-communication on account of time and cost, entire difference of climate, a vast influx of foreign immigrants, each bringing his contribution of foreign customs, &c., &c., then, in such case, Manchester would be as different to London as New York now is. Even then a transferred Manchester would not be the same as New York is at present ; it would be dissimilar to both London and New York because, as I have already stated, no two communities are exactly alike. The American and the Englishman may imagine, *do* imagine, that they are communities separate, different, independent, distinct ; but such is not the case. They are both limbs of the same body, servants of the same master, pliant tools of the same authority. They are not ruled by the Congress of Washington or the Parliament of Westminster, but by the English language, which they are both forced to support and obey—they cannot do anything else. The Americans may indignantly exclaim : "Then what was the use of the Declaration of Independence." The plain answer is : The Declaration of Independence was of no use and made no difference whatever." But I will return to this subject on a later page.

CHAPTER V.

THE acknowledgment in 1783 by England, by formal treaty, of the independence of the United States, after seven years of war and more than twice seven of mutual wrangling, is universally considered one of the most momentous and most disastrous occurrences in the history of England. Contemporary opinion concluded that England's sun had set, and though present-day historians point to the vast extent of territory now under the English flag as falsifying those conclusions, they never cease to bewail the insensate folly, culpable ignorance, and stubborn and misguided prejudice which tore the Empire in twain and lost England her finest colonies. The word "lost" implies that England possessed something previous to 1783 which she no longer possessed in 1784 and subsequent years. It also, in this case, implies that the Americans "gained" something in 1783 which they did not have before. What that "something" was, the historians of each country have fully discussed, with more or less enthusiasm, the "more" being mostly on the American side, and the "less" usually on the English. The establishment of the Republic of the United States is universally regarded as one of the most important events in modern history, by English, American and all other historians; the leading characters on the American side are considered the makers of their country, and their achievement is regarded as of gigantic moment. It is unnecessary to repeat here all that the American Revolution is considered to have accomplished; scores of historians have dealt very fully with this theme.

I venture to think, however, that another, and

entirely different, view should prevail instead of the one now universally held.

The independence of the United States, far from being an event of great importance, was an occurrence of virtually no importance whatever. The War of Independence raged for seven years, and therefore deserves recording in history as a "happen," but that war was devoid of any serious result. A storm may rage on the ocean causing a temporary tumultuous upheaval of the sea, but a few hours after the surface of the water is as placid as ever, no trace remaining. A storm has happened but has left no effect. In the same way the American Revolution was a temporary stir without leaving a permanent alteration. It may be urged: There was a change, a far-reaching change; from dependence the thirteen colonies emerged into independence, to be followed shortly after by union under their own rule and flag, allegiance to the crown and flag of England being for ever disowned. To that the reply is: All this alleged change was in reality no change at all. There was simply a change of *name* but not of *nature*. The owners of a ship may wish to change its appearance. They re-paint it and re-christen it. But it is exactly the same ship as before. It is not true that England "lost" the American colonies in 1776. The United States to-day, after more than one hundred years of independence, are just as much an English colony as ever they were, just as much as if the Declaration of Independence had never been heard of. After 1783 life in the new States went on practically exactly the same as it did before that date. Some men who previously were not much in evidence, now occupied prominent positions. But to the vast bulk of the population it made no difference whatever. And it also left the vast majority of people in England indifferent, only the English Ministry and Crown losing some empty trappings and consequence through

38 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

the result of the war. The question then arises : Is it then impossible for a country to lose its colonies ? It certainly is possible, but only in certain conditions, and those conditions were not fulfilled in the case of the thirteen colonies. A country only loses its colonies in the event of those colonies passing to another language. If the war of 1776 had wrought a change in the language spoken by the revolting communities, then indeed would England have suffered a frightful, a tremendous, an incalculable loss. But no change of language took place. The thirteen colonies spoke English and the thirteen States spoke it too. Suppose, however, that the Declaration of Independence had entailed the extinction of the English language in favour of, say, the French. That indeed would have been a real change, a change not only in name but in nature as well.

Suppose you—an Englishman—are abroad and during your absence a political party gets into power in England and changes the language of the British Isles to, say, German. I imagine that on landing in England again—hearing nothing but German around you—you will very soon come to the conclusion that a very momentous, an incalculable change has taken place. But if the said political party only makes—as far as possible—the same changes in England as the Independence party made in America, leaving the language untouched, you will find on re-landing practically no difference ; the flag will be different, the coats-of-arms on the public buildings unfamiliar, &c., &c., but otherwise you will hardly know you have been absent. Or, to bring the matter home, let the following question be answered : Suppose the Americans in 1776 had said : “We will not declare our independence of England ; we will retain her flag and rule, just as before, but we will change the language of the country from English to, say, French.” If they had done that, the country now called the United States

would figure on the map as part of the British Empire, and would fly the English flag, but no word of English would be spoken there, only French. In other words, it would be exactly what the Province of Quebec now is ; and in Chapter II. of this book I have given a little space to considering the case of that "English" colony. Can it be asserted that if the Americans had done as stated above, the resulting state of affairs would be better for English interests than the actual state of affairs ? Would a New York flying the English flag, but speaking only French, be more advantageous to England than the present-day New York, which does not fly the English flag but does speak English ?

The plain truth of the matter of England and the United States is, that the United States are just as much a part of England as, say, the City of London, and likewise England is as much a portion of the United States as, say, New York. They are both only *parts*, neither is a *whole* by itself. They are both limbs of the same body. A man's right leg, say, is not a body by itself, it is only *part* of a body, a *limb* of a body ; the same with the left leg, &c., &c. In exactly the same way, England is one limb of a body, the United States is another limb of the same body, Australia another, New Zealand another, South Africa (in parts only) another, Canada (in part only) another. That body is the English language.

It is therefore not true that the result of the War of 1776 was a division, a split, that it sundered England and America. It did absolutely nothing of the sort. England and the United States are as united to-day as ever they were, as united as ever they can be, as united as ever it is possible for two countries to be. The War of Independence was like cutting water with a knife. You may slash at the sea with a knife until doomsday without cutting it in two ; the moment you stop slashing, the surface of the water is as united, as

40 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

smooth, as before. There is not even a trace of your slashings. In exactly the same way the slashings of the War of Independence have had no more effect in sundering England and America than if that war had never taken place. The said war did have certain effects—good effects, too—but they are quite different to those universally ascribed to it. I return to this further on.

The conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing is this: it is not the flag that unites a community but the language. The universal idea about unity is that it is conferred by identity of flag and rule. Thus our maps and histories speak of the United States, the British Empire, the Austrian Empire, &c., &c.

Why are, for instance, the United States called the "*United*" States? Because they have a common flag, a common central and supreme Government representing the whole country. That is the universal opinion. But it is not the truth. The United States are not united because they have a Central Government. The exact reverse is the case: they have a Central Government because they are united. It is not the Central Government which confers unity; it is precisely the other way round, it is the unity which gives rise to the Central Government. A child does not give birth to its mother; it is precisely the other way round, it is the mother which gives birth to the child. The Central Government is the child of unity, not, as is the universal opinion, unity the child of the Central Government. The United States are united because they speak one and the same language, for no other reason but that. If the United States spoke more than one tongue: firstly, there would not be a Central Government; secondly, if there were it would not be any use. To put the matter more clearly, I will suppose an extreme case. I believe there are about forty-six States and Territories in the American Union. Suppose that every one of those forty-six

States spoke a different tongue. If that were the case, do you imagine for one moment that there would be a Central Government in Washington, and secondly, even supposing there were, what earthly use would it be? Suppose a New Yorker takes a trip through these forty-six States. In every one of them he finds a language he cannot understand. A lot of good a common flag and a Central Government in Washington will do him in those circumstances!

The United States would be just as "one" as they are at present even if there were no supreme Government in Washington. To prove this let me suppose two states of affairs: firstly, that the Central Government in Washington no longer exist, and that every State and Territory be an independent Republic in itself—about forty-six in all—each with its own President, Senate or Upper House, Congress or Lower House, separate flag, &c., &c., each being as independent of all the others as, say, France and Germany are independent of each other. But I further suppose that every one of these forty-six independent Republics speak the same tongue, for instance, English. In such a case, with forty-six flags and only one tongue, these forty-six States are as united as if there were only one flag, as united as are the United States of to-day. This may be denied. Let us therefore consider a second case. I suppose now that the United States have only one flag and have a Central and Supreme Government as at present, but that every one of the forty-six States speak a different tongue. New York will speak one language, Pennsylvania another, Ohio a third, Illinois a fourth, and so on. In such circumstances, would you call the country "united," although, as I have previously stated, the Central Government in Washington remains in existence untouched. In the first case, a New Yorker would, in travelling the country, find forty-six separate Republics *but*

42 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

only one tongue. Which state of affairs is the most advantageous?

In the above example I cite the United States; but the same thing applies without exception or reserve to every country that exists, that has existed, or that ever will exist.

Take England for instance. I will just ask you—an Englishman, I will suppose—which you prefer: (a) an England in which every county—Lancashire, Yorkshire, Devonshire, Middlesex, &c., &c.—speaks a different language, though they are all under the same flag, rule, government, crown, &c.; or (b) an England in which every county is an absolutely independent State, with own flag, &c.; but also in which every one of the said counties or States speaks the same language, say English?

You may urge: It is exceedingly unlikely that all the counties of England ever will speak different tongues. I am quite aware of that. I merely cite such a case as an example in order to press home my contention, which is this: that the flag or Government of a country or countries has absolutely nothing whatever to do with its or their unity. It is perfectly true that England is united, but the English flag has nothing to do with that unity. That unity is solely due to the fact that the whole of England is of one language. Introduce a second language into England, and the very minute you do so you tear England in two, although flag, rule, government, race, crown, customs, religion, and everything else remain untouched. The same thing is true of the United States and all other countries.

It follows from the foregoing that England and the United States (seeing that they speak the same tongue) are not sundered; that the fact that each flies a different flag does not disunite them any more than sameness of flag would unite them. A central, a common government, has no part in the unity of a

community or communities ; its function at best is that of a convenience, of helping in the administration. There are many matters that are usually dealt with more efficiently by one big government than by half-a-dozen little ones. For instance, it is probable —though not, of course, certain—that if Australia had not been parcelled out into several governments its railways would have been of one uniform gauge instead of being of three different gauges. Also, several small governments are generally more costly than one big one, just as, say, six small ships of 1,000 tons each are much more costly to run than one big one of 6,000 tons. Again, in military matters it is both evident and notorious that unity of command (which is to a large extent the effect of unity of government) is far superior in effectiveness to divided counsels. But nevertheless, all these advantages—and it must not be forgotten there are disadvantages too—do not weigh a feather in the balance against sameness of language. Another thing which follows from all the foregoing is this : A country cannot conquer some other country speaking the same language, because it is already conquered. Suppose England had succeeded in the war which ended in 1783 ; suppose she had squashed the Declaration of Independence, killed the American flag, and brought the whole country under the English flag again. If she had succeeded in doing that, she would not have made America one whit more English than it would be—and is—under its own flag ; you cannot make the United States more English than it is at present. Destroy the American flag, suppress the American Government, annex the United States to England, lock, stock, and barrel ; and when you have done all that, you have not increased its Englishness one jot. A country that speaks English is as English as ever it can be ; nothing you can possibly do can make it more English ; conversely, a country that speaks not

44 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

English is as foreign as it is possible to be ; no matter what you do you cannot make it English as long as its tongue is not English. For instance, Quebec is annexed to England, flies the English flag, is reckoned part of the English Empire ; yet, in spite of all that, it is as foreign, as not-English, as it is possible to be ; it is really a part of France, a suburb of Paris. In fact, to push the matter up to the hilt, England herself is only an English country because she speaks English. Alter the language, and England becomes some other country according to the language.

A country therefore has no interest in conquering or annexing another country if they both speak the same tongue. It would be foolish of me to wish to convert a cow into a quadruped. Why ? Because a cow is a quadruped already. Nothing I can do to that useful animal can make it more quadruped than it already is. Likewise, nothing the United States can do to England can make it more United States than it already is. Nothing France can do to Quebec can make it more French than it is. Therefore any war between two communities speaking the same language must be devoid of any beneficial result, even to the winner. If, say, England and the United States were to go to war and the United States were to be the complete victors, they could gain nothing by their victory. You may say : They could annex Canada. But Canada (except Quebec) already belongs to the United States, is as much part of the United States as, say, New York ; it is absolutely impossible to make it more United States than it is at present. Again you say : the victorious United States might annex England herself. Well, suppose they did. They would gain nothing thereby, because England already is a part of the United States. Suppose I have in my right-hand pocket the sum of £10 and in my left-hand pocket £5. My total wealth therefore is £15. Suppose then that my right hand and my left start a

furious battle with each other, they pummel and bruise each other until one of them, say the right, overpowers the left. The right hand then, as the fruits of its victory, takes the £5 reposing in the left-hand pocket and transfers it to the right-hand pocket, which now, of course, contains £15. What has been the result of the fight to me? Am I any richer? Not a penny. My wealth is still £15 just as it was before the fight began. In fact, I am now worse off than I was, for two reasons: (a) both my arms are damaged and painful from the pummelling they have given each other, and (b) if my two arms had used their strength—either co-operatively or separately—in some productive work, say, in making chairs and tables, I should be better off, because I should have those useful articles to show for my labour, instead of which I have nothing but bruises. The above illustration gives an exact picture of what a war between England and the United States—or any other countries which speak the same tongue—means. Neither gains, both lose heavily. Take the War of Independence for instance. In that case England and America pummelled each other for about seven years, the English killed a lot of Americans, and the Americans killed a lot of English, and both sides spent a great deal of money in doing it. And with what result? Absolutely none whatever. The English lost nothing and the Americans gained nothing, and *vice versa*; in fact, they both suffered, see (a) and (b) above. The Americans are just as English—the United States is just as much an English Colony—as ever they were, or as any country can be, and conversely the English are just as American, and England is just as much American soil, as Philadelphians or as Pennsylvania. Both countries spoke the same tongue in 1775, before the Declaration of Independence, and both do so still, and except by causing the said countries (or any countries) to speak different tongues *it is absolutely*

46 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

impossible to impair their unity. There is no greater mistake than a war or serious dissension between two communities speaking the same tongue. It is, as I have previously stated, just like a man's right arm fighting his left : whichever arm wins the man suffers. And there is also another evil connected with such conflicts, as will appear from the following illustration. Suppose six men are entered for a race. One of the men proceeds to lacerate his legs, cutting off the toes, making wounds, &c. Would you consider that he was doing something clever ? Would you not rather say that he was a fool to give himself such pain ? And would not that man lose in still another way, namely, by diminishing his chances of winning the race ? This man therefore loses in two ways (*a*) he gives himself pain, and (*b*) he lessens his chances in the race. He does not gain in any way ; the gainers by his action are his competitors ; everything that damages him increases their chances. This example is an accurate picture of what occurs when any countries speaking the same tongue go to war with each other, say England and the United States. Neither England nor the United States has gained one farthing from any war that has ever taken place between them ; on the contrary, they have both lost heavily in three ways (*a*) by the damage they have inflicted on each other, (*b*) by the waste of money occasioned in inflicting that damage (the money, if applied to productive work would have borne useful fruit), and, (*c*) by increasing the chances of other competing (*i.e.*, not English-speaking) nations.

This then is the immutable law : A community should in its own interest never do anything to damage any community speaking the same tongue as itself, but, on the contrary, should endeavour to do all in its power to advance the interests of such a community.

The reason for that is this : To damage a same-speaking community is to damage yourself, to help a

same-speaking people is to help yourself; you are limbs of the same body, and every ailment, every healthfulness felt by that body will be felt by you likewise; you are servants of the same master (the common language). If you fight among yourselves you are damaging the interests of your master (*i.e.*, your language, which is yourselves), and if you co-operate you are advancing your master's interests, that is, your own. Suppose at a battle the regiments on one side begin to fight each other instead of fighting the enemy. By doing so are these regiments advancing their own interests and the interests of their country? On the contrary, the enemy is the only gainer.

Yet the foregoing is an accurate picture of what has occurred—and is still occurring—between England and the United States. The United States glory in having killed in 1776 and 1812 some thousands of Englishmen (that is, men speaking the same tongue as themselves), and the English do not lag in acidity. England and the United States are two regiments enlisted on one side, under one command, that of the English language, and to advance their own interests they must co-operate; if they do not, the enemy (that is, all not-English-speaking communities) will be the sole gainer.

This brings me to the converse of the law just enunciated. A community in its own interest should do all in its power to damage every community that does not speak the same language as itself.

To kernel the whole matter in a few words: Every man who speaks the same language as yourself is your friend; every man who speaks a tongue different to the one you speak is your enemy.

A man who speaks a language different to the one you speak is your enemy only as long as he continues to speak that tongue; the moment he changes his tongue to yours, he becomes your friend, and *vice versa*. Warm friendliness and bitter enmity are

48 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

simply the creatures, respectively, of same-tongueness and other-tongueness. I have touched on this matter more fully in other chapters of this book.

How then does it occur that England and the United States, though speaking the same tongue, have fought each other bitterly in 1776 and 1812, and that in 1861 a war raged in the United States for four years? There are two reasons. Firstly, it is universally, and wrongly, imagined that a war between two countries speaking the same tongue and a war between two countries speaking different tongues are the same thing. It is imagined that in each case the winner, if he prove overwhelmingly victorious, will or can gain something, and that the loser, if crushingly defeated, will or can lose something. For instance, take the war of 1776 above mentioned. We are told that by that war England "lost" her colonies. Such is not the case, however. England, though defeated, "lost" absolutely nothing by that war. Again, suppose in a subsequent war England had proved the winner and had annexed the State of New York to the British Empire. We should then be told that the United States had "lost" New York. But it would not be true. In wars between two peoples speaking the same tongue, neither side, winner nor loser, though they fight till the crack of doom, can either "lose" or "gain" anything. (As a matter of fact they both lose in a way, because they are wasting blood and money all the time, and also, unconsciously, helping their rivals.) This idea, then, of "loss" and "gain"—a totally wrong idea—had largely to do with the wars that have taken place between same-speaking peoples.

In wars between communities speaking different languages the matter is on a different footing altogether. In these cases it is perfectly possible for the defeated party to "lose" and to "lose" heavily, and the winning party to "gain" enormously. Suppose

England and France go to war and England wins, and as the fruits of victory annexes Normandy and *changes the language of Normandy from French to English*. In that case France has indeed "lost" Normandy and England has "gained" it. France has lost it not because it has passed from the French flag, *but because it has passed from the French language*, and England has gained it because it has passed to the English language. France would have lost it just the same if it had remained under the French flag but not under the French tongue. Also, by the peace of 1763 Quebec passed from the French flag to the English flag, but *not* from the French language to the English language. Therefore, France has *not* lost Quebec: that province is as much French now as it was before the cession. "Loss" or "gain" depends on the language and on nothing else.

But there is another reason, too. It is to be found in circumstances—in circumstances that have now passed away almost throughout the civilised world, and which eventually and automatically will pass away altogether. In the last one hundred years an immense change in the material conditions of the world, due to the application of steam and electricity to industrial purposes, has taken place. This has resulted in a transference of power, which in its turn has profoundly modified the attitude of governments in the settling of various questions. For instance, in 1776 England and the United States, although same-speaking, fought a long war. But such a war would be utterly impossible nowadays. At the present moment England would not fire a shot, would not lift a finger, to forcibly retain, say, Australia or Canada under the English flag. Likewise, if the United States had waited, they would have got their independence without any fighting whatever. The reason for this change of attitude is not that the English of to-day are more intelligent than those of 1776, it is that

50 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

circumstances have changed, and this change is due to mechanical inventions. Consider the conditions that obtained in England in 1776 and those that obtain in the present day. The supreme power is no longer in the hands that held it in 1776; an industrial town democracy has largely taken the place of an aristocratic landed oligarchy. The England of to-day would not consent to fight such a war as that of 1776, because it would consider that the game was not worth the candle; the England of 1776, though largely of the same opinion, had to fight willy-nilly, because power was held by a comparatively very small class, who could, and usually did, ignore the nation. To-day, who pays the piper calls the tune; in 1776 the public paid the piper but they did not call the tune. Besides, public opinion, as we understand it to-day, scarcely existed; and, secondly, such as did exist was practically inarticulate. Then England was mainly agricultural, that is, scattered, the bulk of the population being on isolated farms, in thorps and small country towns. Now it is chiefly industrial, that is, concentrated, the majority of people living in towns, some of them very large ones. Mechanical invention has immensely cheapened the printing press, and communication has neared, in time and money, every part of the country. Even to-day, in spite of cheap everything, the dull, sodden apathy and ignorance of the mass of all communities is a thing to marvel at. Despite the vast extension of the suffrage, minorities—and not very able ones either—can, in many respects, hold sway to-day and impose their will on the majority; I mean that practically no representative assembly accurately expresses the wishes of the people it is supposed to represent. If that is the case to-day, it was fifty times worse in 1776, with a Parliament of “rotten” boroughs, no Press to speak of, very dear postage, scanty education, and virtually no communication between the various parts of the

country. The commercial classes, using the word in its widest sense, now hold power in countries well supplied with railways—railways are an excellent index—and in short, most of the important countries are getting commercialised, and at no distant date the whole world will be commercialised. In olden time, London apprentices played football in Cheapside and other city streets, and the community did not object; but the community would not tolerate that now. The causes then of the war of 1776 were two in number, and all wars between countries speaking the same tongue are due to the same two causes: (a) to the erroneous idea that wars between same-speakers can give "loss" or "gain" as wars between other-speakers can—in other words, that all wars are similar; and (b) to the fact that till recently power, owing to the dearness of everything, was universally in the hands of a small irresponsible clique who could make war for practically any reason that pleased them, very often purely dynastic reasons being the motive—or, in other words, to the fact that the commercial classes were excluded from power.

Of these two causes, the first is by far the most powerful. The advent to power of the commercial class has prevented wars of personal or dynastic motive, but it has not prevented wars of "loss" or "gain." A commercialised country will not fight for any dynastic reasons, but it will fight if it thinks that if it does it will "gain" something, or that if it doesn't it will "lose" something. The War of Secession, 1861—1865, is a case in point which I will discuss later. And it is the aim of this book to prove that in every case, without exception, it *must* be impossible to "lose" or "gain" in a war between same-speakers. (There is, of course, *always loss* in such wars—the money wasted.)

Thus, to prevent *in perpetuity* wars between same-speaking communities it is only necessary to do two

things : (1) to prove that such wars can never result in "loss" or "gain" (in fact, always in utter waste of money), and (2) to commercialise the world.

The first part (1) I am bent on proving in this book (see above); the second (2) does not need any extraneous impulsion; it is doing itself automatically day by day, by the building of railways, installation of electric plants, establishment of steamer lines, &c., &c. See further on.

The above concerns wars between same-speakers; what about those between communities speaking different languages? The answer is: It is utterly impossible to prevent wars between different-speakers, because, as shown in previous chapters of this work, their interests, as long as they remain different-speakers, but no longer, are diametrically and wholly irreconcilable.

CHAPTER VI.

THE words "loyalty," "colonies," have always been greatly to the fore in the history of the world. To begin with, What is a colony? The dictionary definition is, "A body of people transplanted from their mother-country to a remote province or country, to cultivate and inhabit it." We can, however, easily see what is considered a colony by taking up any of the many books and maps dealing with the British Empire. In such books the Province of Quebec, which I have already discussed to some extent, figures as an English colony. I therefore submit that the prevalent idea of a colony is entirely wrong. I would rather define a colony as follows: A colony of any country is a land which speaks the same tongue as that country. Therefore, applying that definition, an English colony is any country which speaks English, or likewise any country which speaks English is an English colony. Thus, the United States are an English colony, and likewise England is a United States colony. England is an Australian colony, and likewise Australia is an English colony. Quebec is a French colony, France is a Quebec colony. What I wish to lay stress on is this: *the colonising principle is not men, but language.* Australia, for instance, is an English colony not because the people who settled in it came from England, but because they spoke English. Suppose some fairy had during the voyage changed the language of every settler who left the shores of England for those of Australia, the result being that, though every settler had stepped on board ship in England speaking English, he stepped ashore in Australia speaking not

54 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

English, but say German. In that case, although all the settlers were born and bred in England, they would land speaking only German. Therefore Australia at the present day would speak only German. Would it then be an English colony? We are also constantly being told that England is a great colonising nation because she has sent her sons to all quarters of the earth, where they have founded colonies for her. The idea contained in that statement is entirely erroneous. A nation can be the greatest colonising power in the world *without a single one of its inhabitants ever leaving its shores.* *In order to make colonies you must export, not men, but the language.* The sons of England have founded English colonies, not because they were sons of England, but *because they carried the English language with them.* Anyone who speaks English, whether he be a son of England or of anywhere else, *must* found an English colony, and a son of England, though his kith-tree be purer (as regards English blood) than driven snow, can never found an English colony unless he speaks the English tongue. Take, for instance, two countries, which I will call "A" and "B," each speaking a different tongue. "A" country exports (emigrates) thousands of its people, say 1,000,000 per annum, in fifty years making 50,000,000. But some fairy contrives to change the language of every one of those 50,000,000 emigrants the very moment they leave the frontiers of "A." The result is that at the end of fifty years not one of those 50,000,000, nor their descendants, speaks the language of "A." "B," however, pursues a different policy. It does not export (emigrate) men, it exports its language. During fifty years not one person has left the frontiers of "B." But it has exported its language to such purpose that a certain country of 100,000,000 inhabitants, which used to have a language of its own, has now dropped that language, and only speaks that of "B." Summarising

the policies of "A" and "B" we get the following: "A" has exported 50,000,000 people, but not one of them nor of their descendants speak the tongue of "A." "B," on the other hand, has not exported a single person, not a soul has left its shores, but it has arranged things in such manner that 100,000,000 people in a remote country, who formerly spoke some tongue of their own, now speak only the tongue of "B," and, of course, all their descendants likewise now speak that tongue. Which of these two countries, "A" or "B," has adopted the best policy? Which of these two countries has a colony? Would you call the 50,000,000, who cannot speak "A"'s tongue, a colony of "A"? Has not "B," who has not emigrated one of its sons, a magnificent colony of 100,000,000 souls?

The second word requiring consideration in this chapter is the word "loyalty."

I am concerned with loyalty in its political sense. There are not many statements I have seen oftener than that concerning the loyalty of French Canada (Quebec) to England, and the English flag. We are assured that Quebec is loyal to the core, that in 1775 it fought staunchly in defence of the English flag, that it would do so again, and that whatever may happen, England can entirely depend on the unwavering loyalty of that province. Those who wish for further information about Quebec loyalty can find any quantity by referring to papers, books and political speeches, many of these last by French-Canadians themselves.

Quebec may be loyal to the English flag, that I do not dispute, but I deny utterly that it is loyal to England. There is not in the whole world a man who is more disloyal to England than the French-Canadian. There are many men who are *quite* as disloyal—for instance, the South African Boers—but none that are *more* disloyal. These are strong statements, but they are easily supported by conclusive evidence. But

56 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

before going into that matter let us analyse "loyalty." For instance, I should like to know what the proprietors of, say, the London newspapers consider "loyalty" towards themselves. Who are "loyal" to the London newspapers? My answer is: "The people who buy them." The loyalty the London newspapers want is the loyalty that finds concrete expression in the purchase of those papers. That is the only loyalty that will do them any good. Suppose the whole population of London protest with one voice that they are loyal, heart and soul, to the London newspapers, but, despite that loyalty so fervently mouthed, resolutely refuse to buy a single copy of those said newspapers. What would be the result? Within a week the whole of the London Press would be in the bankruptcy court. I should then very much like to have the views of the ex-proprietors, ex-editors, ex-staff of the said Press concerning the loyalty, so fervently expressed, of the London population towards that Press.

The truth is that the only way to be loyal to a newspaper is to buy it and read it. What is the circulation of a paper but the expression in figures of the loyalty that paper has called forth? Suppose a paper has a circulation of 500,000 copies per day. Doesn't that mean that there are 500,000 people who are loyal to that paper and who express their loyalty in the essential and only effective way they can, namely, by buying it every day? Again, would you call a man who always buys and advertises in, say, paper "A" loyal to paper "B"? Hardly. Such a man is loyal to paper "A" and disloyal to paper "B." You may, however, admit that this man is loyal to paper "A" but deny that he is disloyal to paper "B." My contention is, however, that the refusal to buy paper "B" is the height of disloyalty to that paper. Paper "B" lives on its sales and advertisements, and if you refuse to buy it you kill it. It only lives by its

sales : they are its food, its life-blood ; refuse to buy it and you ruin it. If that isn't disloyalty I don't know what is. Suppose a man comes to you and solemnly assures you of his fervent loyalty to you, and then shortly afterwards deprives you of your living, ruins you, causes you to starve, in fact virtually kills you. Would you consider that man had been loyal to you ? Yet the foregoing is a picture of what occurs when people refuse to buy a newspaper. They ruin it, they kill it, and that is the acme of disloyalty.

Of course, there are papers that are not dependent on sales and advertisements. They are kept afloat by subsidies, subventions, grants-in-aid, &c. But even these papers depend on their readers. People soon get tired of subsidising papers that no one ever reads. Governments also soon tire of making grants to papers without readers, *i.e.*, without influence.

I therefore take it that this axiom is established : the only way to be loyal to a newspaper is to buy it, or read it, or both. Now, who buys the London papers ? The people of London. Why do they buy them ? *Because the people of London speak the same language as that in which the papers are printed, to wit, English.* Suppose I suddenly change the language of the people of London (not the papers) from English to French (the language of Quebec). In that case how many of the people of London—speaking only French—would buy any of the papers of London—printed entirely in English ? Not one. Why should they ? Why should a population speaking only French buy papers printed solely in English ? In these circumstances the people of London would not buy the papers of London ; *in other words, the people of London would be disloyal to the papers of London.*

Or to put the matter in another way, suppose I order the London Press—printed in English—to transfer itself over to Quebec. In that case how many of the people of Quebec, who speak French,

58 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

would buy copies of the said transferred Press, printed in English. None. Why should the Quebecers buy copies of the said transferred papers? They speak French, the papers are in English; what possible use are such papers to them? They would refuse to buy, and the result would be that the transferred newspapers and all connected with them would be ruined. *In other words, the people of Quebec would be disloyal to the said transferred English Press.* And that is just the point.

Substitute for the word "Press" in the above illustration, the words "stage," "lawyers," "doctors," "business men," "clerks," "mechanics," &c., &c., in fact, what you will, and you get a correct picture of the attitude of Quebec to the English stage, lawyers, doctors, business men, &c., &c.

In fact, Quebec is disloyal to everything English, and conversely is loyal to everything French.

And that, therefore, brings me to my definition of loyalty in an "international" sense. Loyalty is the state of feeling which ever exists between communities speaking the same tongue, the feeling induced by same-tongueness; disloyalty is the state of feeling which ever exists between communities speaking different tongues.

Thus Quebec is disloyal to England, and also England is disloyal to Quebec. It is the interest of the Quebecer to support the French language and not to support the English; it is the interest of the Englishman to support English and not to support French. Their interests are irreconcilably opposed. The Quebecer can only live in a French-speaking atmosphere, the Englishman can only live in an English-speaking atmosphere, the Quebec Press can only live in a French-speaking atmosphere, the English Press can only live in an English-speaking atmosphere. (See previous chapters of this work.) What is life to the one is death to the other. And this state of affairs is entirely beyond the control of either party. It is an absolute impossibility for Quebec to

be loyal to England as long as it speaks French. Even if Quebec wished to be loyal to England it could not be as long as it speaks French. Suppose a man says, and says with sincerity, "I am tired of being a biped and will henceforth be a quadruped." His friends will answer : "We will give you entire credit for sincerity in your statement, but we wish to point out to you that the matter is entirely beyond your control ; you cannot become a quadruped as long as you only have two legs. You may wish to be a quadruped and you may assert—sincerely believing what you say—that you *are* a quadruped, but nevertheless you will remain a biped as before." No matter what Quebec may assert, no matter what anyone may assert, Quebec is entirely disloyal to England, as disloyal as it is possible to be ; it could not be more disloyal ; there is no country in the world that is more disloyal. Are there any that are equally disloyal ? France is, so is Germany, Italy too, &c., &c. All these countries are equally disloyal to England. Why ? Because they all speak a language different to that spoken in England. And they are also just as disloyal to each other as they are to England. France is disloyal to Germany and Italy, Germany to France and Italy, Italy to Germany and France, &c., &c. And that for the reason given above. But Quebec is *not* disloyal to France and *vice versa*, because they both speak the same tongue. What then is necessary to convert disloyalty into loyalty and loyalty into disloyalty ? Only one thing : change the language. At the present moment Quebec and England are as disloyal to each other as can be, but as soon as they come to speak the same tongue they become as *loyal* as it is possible to be. At the present moment Middlesex and Surrey (two of the four counties on which London is built) are as loyal to each other as can be, because they both speak the same tongue ; cause them to speak

60 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

different tongues (make Middlesex speak, say, French) and the very instant you do that you make them become as disloyal to each other as they can possibly be—in fact, you reproduce in Surrey and Middlesex the conditions which at present obtain in England and Quebec. In short, loyalty is absolutely impossible between different-speaking communities, and disloyalty impossible between same-speakers, and all writings and speeches to the contrary are erroneous and futile.

There is another aspect of the "loyalty" question which is worth noting. During the latter part of the South African War, 1899—1902, a section of the Boers, till lately in arms against England, became enlisted in a special corps on the English side, and thenceforth acted against the side they had previously supported. These Boers were called the National Scouts.

It may be asked here how it came to pass that these Boers, Dutch-speakers, served against the other Boers, also Dutch-speakers. This is only an illustration of the fact that water naturally runs down-hill, but can be pumped up-hill. The natural bent of these Boers was towards the Boer side, and they had followed that natural bent at the start. It was only after it became evident which side was going to win that they abandoned the Boer side and took service with the English. Also, on the English side they were paid and I believe were allowed to loot cattle, which was their main duty, the effective help afforded the English columns in the field being of little significance. If it had been plain from the start that the English were going to be definitely and decisively beaten, no National Scouts would have been heard of. Also, allegiance can be bought as long as you continue to pay the price; stop the price and the allegiance reverts to its natural channels. Water can be pumped upwards; cease pumping and it then reverts to its natural direction, downwards.

Of the two sections of Boers, the National Scouts, enlisted on the English side, or the "bitter-enders," who fought on the Boer side to the end, which was "loyal" to England? The answer that rises to the lips is: "The National Scouts were loyal, seeing that they were fighting under the English flag for that flag." But the answer would not be correct. The Boers who fought against England and the Boers who fought for England were both *equally* disloyal—there was nothing to choose between them. This may seem paradoxical, but the argument in support is simple.

Suppose that after the war both these sections of the Boers founded a town each, one town being exclusively inhabited by "bitter-enders" and the other solely by National Scouts. Both these towns would speak Dutch. What difference would there be between these two towns in the eyes of an Englishman? Absolutely none whatever. Both of them are as disloyal, as hostile, to an Englishman as they can possibly be. Suppose an Englishman goes to the National Scouts town. It is full of people who fought for the English flag. But our Englishman very soon finds that he cannot live in that town. To attempt to stay there means to court social, political, and commercial death. The whole town speaks only Dutch, our man speaks only English. We will suppose he is a journalist. Can he get a billet in that town, which speaks a language of which he knows nothing? Suppose he has some capital and starts an English newspaper. Who will buy it? And all this takes place in a town which is "loyal" to England. I am quite willing to admit that the inhabitants may be loyal to the English flag. But of what use is that? What good does that do our Englishman? Even suppose the people be animated by a spirit of goodwill towards him, it can do him no good. With the best will in the world they can do nothing for him unless

62 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

he speak Dutch. How can the editor of a Dutch paper—even if he desire to do so, which he won't—give him a billet if he be ignorant of the language the paper is printed in? And of course not only an Englishman would be lost in this town, a Frenchman would too, so would a German, Russian, Italian, &c. Who would then be at home in such a town. Only one sort of persons: Dutch-speakers. The truth is that a town or country of, say, Dutch-speakers, though the inhabitants have fought under and for the English flag, though that flag still fly over them, though they assert night and day without intermission their loyalty, is thoroughly and wholly disloyal to England. It is no place for an English-speaker, he cannot live in it; he can only live and thrive in an English-speaking country, in all others he will droop and die.

The preceding paragraph deals with the National Scouts town, the "loyal" town. But if our Englishman go to the "bitter-enders" town, the "disloyal" town, he will find things no different, neither better nor worse. Both these towns are *equally* disloyal to England. All communities, without exception, that do not speak English are *equally* disloyal to England and the United States.

The above also has a bearing on foreign policy. I have often seen the statement, for instance, that, say, Italy is the friend of England, but that Germany, say, is her enemy. That statement is untrue. Both Italy and Germany are alike the enemies of England, and their hostility is exactly equal. What is true is this: the hostility of the one may be *latent* and of the other *active*, that is to say, in the first instance there may have been no contact, therefore the latent hostility does not show; in the second case there has been contact, therefore the sleeping hostility awakens into activity. A man may be travelling through a forest containing lions. Every one of them will be *equally* savage and hostile to the traveller, but it is

only those with which he comes in touch that will be actively hostile ; those he never comes within miles of will not molest him though their latent hostility is just as great. You are constantly hearing of conflicts between Bulgarians and Turks, but you never hear of any between Bulgarians and Portuguese. Is that because the Turks are hostile to the Bulgarians and the Portuguese not ? Not in the least. The reason is that Bulgarians and Portuguese never come into contact with each other, whereas Bulgarians and Turks do, seeing that they are neighbours. The hostility between Bulgarians and Portuguese is *exactly equal* to the hostility between Bulgarians and Turks, but in the one case it is *latent* (owing to absence of contact on account of distance, &c.), and in the other it ceases to be *latent*, but becomes *active* through contact. Were the Turks shifted into Portugal and the Portuguese into Turkey, there would then be constant bickering between Portuguese and Bulgarians and none at all between Turks and Bulgarians. It is a great fallacy to speak of one country being the friend of another. There is not, never has been, and never can be, any friendship between communities speaking different languages, as for instance, England, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, &c., &c. There is abiding hostility between them all, not always *active* hostility, but always *latent*. It never dies, is always smouldering and occasionally bursts into flame, then it is called war. A way of proving that is this : An Englishman, for instance, going on the European Continent, finds there a language he does not understand, a language which virtually covents him. I say "a" language, not "languages." There are, of course, several languages, French, German, Italian, &c. But as regards our Englishman, there are *not* several languages but only one, to wit, not-English. Both French and German, say, are alike incomprehensible to him. As far as he

64 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY.

is concerned French is not better nor worse than German, or Italian, or any other. If he is in France he can understand nothing. But when he is in Germany he can also understand nothing. Nor does he fare any better in Italy, Spain, &c., &c. To him the various languages are gabble one and all, there is no difference between any of them. Drop our man in Paris, amid French, he is helpless; transfer him to Berlin, amid German, still helpless; to Rome, amid Italian, the same, and so forth. He has been amid French, German and Italian, namely, three separate tongues, but in reality he has only been amid one tongue, to wit, one he cannot understand. Therefore for our Englishman (or for any man) there are not several languages, but never more than two, which are (1) the language he can understand (in this instance English), and (2) the language he cannot understand (in this case not-English, *i.e.*, every tongue—French, German, Russian, Danish, &c.—which is not English). Amid the first language he can live and thrive, amid the second he will shrivel and die. In other words, the first language is loyal, friendly, life-giving, helpful, supporting to him, and the second is disloyal, hostile, death-dealing, wrecking, poisonous to him. The first is like an atmosphere which he can breathe, the second is an atmosphere which will choke him. He, therefore, naturally, will strain every nerve in support of the first, but will be bitterly hostile to the second. (I have developed the idea more fully in a previous chapter.)

Hence any man *must* hotly support the country that speaks his tongue and must strongly oppose *every* (not this or that, but *every*, without a single exception) country that speaks a tongue which he does not. It is, therefore, not true to facts to say that, say, France is hostile to England, whereas, say, Germany is friendly to England.

The following, therefore, is the conclusion to be drawn: Every country that does not speak English

is hostile to England, and England is hostile to every country that does not speak English. Likewise, every country that *does* speak English is friendly to England, and England is the friend of every country that speaks English.

In the preceding paragraph I have taken England and English as an illustration only, but the same is true of every country in the world, France, Germany, Italy, &c., &c., without one single exception. It is true to-day, and has been from the dawn of time, and not till two and two cease to make four will that immutable law find any exception.

Another very usual word is Patriotism. The generally accepted meaning is, "Love of one's country." But in that sense patriotism does not exist. What is imagined to be love of country is in reality love of language. Take for instance the case of a Frenchman. We are told he is patriotic, he loves France. But it is not so, he only *thinks he does*. What he really loves is the French tongue. Send that Frenchman away on a voyage and during his absence change the language of France to, say, German. When our Frenchman returns he finds France, the country, just as it was when he left it, but the French tongue has gone. Will our man now be at home in France, in a country whose language he no longer speaks? No, for him France has gone; France is no longer France, it is a foreign land. He can no longer live there; he will have to leave it and seek some other land where the French tongue is still spoken. He has no interest in France; he will not fight for her now. Why should he? Why should he fight for a country in which he cannot live, fight for a country whose language is no longer his? He will transfer his allegiance to some other country (Quebec, for example) where he can find himself at home. He is now hostile to France, and would fight against her. Her interests are no longer his interests;

they are henceforth irreconcilably opposed. In other words, *allegiance ignores the flag and always follows the language*. Love of country (patriotism) does not, never has, and never will, exist ; love of language is omnipresent and—in “international” relations—is the sole arbiter of the actions of mankind. Men of all nations, English, Germans, Montenegrins, Japanese, &c., &c., exult in and exalt their land. They waste their breath. The land they so loudly worship would stifle them if it were not accompanied by the language they speak. They are “backing the wrong horse.”

CHAPTER VII.

ALL communities are daily endeavouring to advance their interests, or what they deem their interests. Which is the best way to do so ? One excellent way is to develop the natural resources of the land. But we find various lands full of natural wealth awaiting exploitation, and yet practically nothing is done. As a rule the reason for that is : no security. What are a country's interests ? With natural resources I have nothing to do, because they are beyond human control. If a land contains coal it does, and if it does not it does not, and there is an end of it. It is, therefore, useless to discuss the natural wealth or climate of a country. Apart from that, then, which is the greatest treasure a country can possess ? It is unity of language and spread of language. The way to advance the interests of a country is to advance the language of that country ; to diminish a country diminish its language. For instance, attention is often called to the great increase of prosperity, the great development that has taken place in England within, say, the last seventy-five years. Why has England made such vast strides in that three-quarters of a century ? Some attribute it to the fiscal policy of Free Trade inaugurated in 1846, others to steam and electricity and their concomitants. As an index they point to the vast increase of population that has occurred. I do not know the exact increase, but let us say the population has about doubled since, say, 1820, before the beginning of the railway era. The parent stock then would number, say, 20,000,000, the present-day population 40,000,000; this gives a growth of 20,000,000. That increase undoubtedly indicates

68 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

an augmentation of strength and power, but only for one reason, namely, *that the growth speaks the same tongue as the parent stock.* The population of, say, 20,000,000 which filled England in 1820 spoke English, and the growth of 20,000,000 which has occurred since then also speaks English, giving the present-day population of about 40,000,000 also speaking English. But suppose that the figure of 20,000,000 English-speakers had remained unchanged, the whole of the growth speaking French, the result being that, although the now population would number 40,000,000 as before, only 20,000,000 would speak English, the remaining 20,000,000 speaking French. I contend that in those circumstances England would not be more powerful to-day than it was in 1820; in that year 20,000,000 spoke English, in 1900 also 20,000,000 speak English. The *total* population of England has increased two-fold (to 40,000,000), but the *English-speaking* population has not increased at all.^{*} The English tongue has remained stationary, therefore the power of England (the English-speakers) has also remained stationary. As a matter of fact, though *absolutely* it has remained stationary, *relatively* it has declined. In other words, the addition of 20,000,000 French speakers has not been an accession of strength, but an accession of weakness. It is easy to see that the addition of 20,000,000 not-English-speakers to the population has not advanced the interests of the English-speakers. Suppose there were a daily paper—printed in English, of course—published in England in 1820, and that every inhabitant bought a copy daily. The circulation of that paper would, therefore, be 20,000,000. Suppose that paper still in existence in 1900, when the total population has increased to 40,000,000. Although the population has doubled the circulation of that paper has not increased at all, it still remains in 1900 at the same figure it stood at

in 1820, to wit, 20,000,000. Why is that? Because the increment of 20,000,000 will not buy that paper. Why? Because they do not speak the tongue the paper is printed in. They speak French, the paper is printed in English, they will, therefore, not buy it. As far as our paper is concerned the population has stood still—the 20,000,000 French speakers are no use to it. The same thing is true not only of newspapers, but of everything else.

In these illustrations I am taking population as an index of strength and advancement and am supposing other things to be equal.

The conclusion is this: the only way to advance the interests of a community is to advance the tongue of that community, and conversely the only way to harm the interests of a country is to diminish its language. The only way to advance the interests of England is to advance the English tongue, and the only way English interests can be damaged is by damaging the English language. The sole way of advancing English interests is to *increase the English-speaking* population. To increase the *not-English-speaking* population is of no use to England; on the contrary, it is enormously harmful to her, as I will show further on.

There is another fallacy in this connection which should be noted. The general impression is that being able to speak several languages is of great value commercially and so forth—that, for instance, the English are beginning to lag in the trade race owing to imperfect education, one of these imperfections being that they as a rule are not linguists. This, we are informed, should be at once altered. The daily and periodical Press and innumerable books teem with exhortations that great attention should be paid to the study of languages, and schools constantly advertise that care is taken to thoroughly tongue their pupils. In a word, it is imagined that the

interests of a country, say England, are advanced by the study of foreign tongues. This belief is erroneous from top to bottom. In reality the direct contrary is the case. The way to advance English interests is not for Englishmen to learn foreign tongues, but *to teach foreigners English*. By learning French, I, an Englishman, do not advance the interests of England; on the contrary, *by so doing I advance the interests of France*. If I learn German, I advance German interests, not English. If I wish to help England I must take men who do not speak English and cause them to learn English.

There is no other way, never has been and never will be, of advancing English interests. Everything that advances the English tongue advances the interest of England, the United States, Australia, part of Canada, part of South Africa. Everything that damages the English tongue damages the interests of those countries.

This, of course, changing what ought, applies to all countries without exception.

The more English-speakers there are the better for England; the fewer the worse.

Let us give an instance. As I said before, English books, papers, magazines and orators are constantly urging Englishmen to learn foreign tongues. My assertion is, however, that England should not do that but should teach foreigners English. I wish therefore to ask: Who reads the above-mentioned books, papers, magazines and speeches? Only people who can speak English. A man who cannot speak English never buys an English book, paper, or periodical, and never buys or listens to an English speech. Why should he? Suppose that at the present moment the combined sales of English books, papers, &c., amounts to a billion copies per day. If I wish to increase those sales, what must I do? Increase the number of English-speakers. If I *double*

their number I thereby, in proportion, double the sales of English books. If I *halve* their number I halve the sale of English books. If I wipe them out altogether, I thereby automatically extinguish the sale of such books. In such a case instead of selling a billion copies a day you would not sell half a dozen. Take the writer's case for instance. I spend every year a certain sum on English papers. But I do not spend a farthing a year on Italian papers. Why is that? Is it because I have any prejudice against Italian papers? Not in the least. The sole reason is that I can speak English but I know no Italian. Why should I buy Italian papers? I can't understand them. But suppose that I *could* speak Italian, then I *should* buy Italian books, papers, &c., and by that I should be doing my mite to help Italian interests. It is the same in every walk of life; I have only used the above illustration of books and papers for convenience. I remember once, on hearing that a gentleman (not English) was going for a holiday trip, asking him why he did not go to England to spend his holiday. He replied, "I would like to, very much, but I cannot speak English. I feel quite lost in London on that account; I cannot enjoy myself as much as I would like to; it is very awkward for me to be unable to understand or be understood." This gentleman would have spent, say, £100 on his holiday. If he had gone to England he would have spent that £100 in England, England would have had the benefit of it; in other words, English *exports* would really have been £100 larger although this £100 would not show in the Board of Trade returns. But he did not spend that £100 in England, he spent it elsewhere; but if he had been able to speak English he would not have spent it elsewhere, but in England. In other words, England lost £100 through that gentleman not knowing English. Not much, £100, you may say. But the case I have cited is only

one of many. There are thousands like it. Suppose there are 1,000,000 like it. In that case it means an annual loss to England of £100,000,000.

Of course, as regards holiday resorts, language is not the sole determining factor. For instance, no matter how much the speech of Greenland and Spitzbergen be spread, these two places will never be very popular among holiday makers.

It therefore follows from the foregoing that the present system and the present ideas concerning the teaching of languages are entirely wrong. In, say, England, an immense amount of time and money is spent on learning French, German, Italian, &c., under the impression that by so doing an advantage is gained. The time and money spent in so doing is not only utterly wasted, it is far worse than wasted—it is really *spent in doing precisely the opposite of what it is intended to do*: instead of being of advantage to England *it is of positive disadvantage to her*. By learning French, German, Italian, &c., you are (*a*) advancing the interests of France, Germany, Italy, &c., and (*b*) damaging the interests of England (and of course of the United States, Australia, &c., &c.). The second part (*b*) of that statement is an outcome of the first (*a*), for the following reason: If you advance the interests of one country, you, by the mere fact of doing that, damage the interests of every other country speaking a different language. For example, if I increase the population of Germany by 50,000,000—without in any way touching the population of France and other countries—I damage the interests of France, &c. The picture would be as follows: present population of Germany, say, 60,000,000; present population of France, say, 40,000,000. Add 50,000,000 to Germany it becomes 110,000,000, France remaining 40,000,000. I have not diminished the population of France by one unit, yet it is evident that I have dealt her a heavy blow, and that simply by increasing the number of

Germans. Why is it I have dealt France a heavy blow? Because I have increased by 50,000,000 a non-French-speaking population. If the 50,000,000 increase had been French-speakers—whether under the French flag or not—I should have *advanced* French interests to that extent.

I repeat it: the only way to advance the interests of any country is to advance the language of that country, and that can only be done in two ways: (a) absolutely, by increasing that language itself; (b) relatively, by decreasing any other or all other languages.

Likewise, there is only one way of damaging the interests of a country, and that is by damaging its language, which can only be done in two ways: (a) absolutely, by decreasing that language itself; (b) relatively, by increasing some other or all other languages.

Everything that hurts other countries (except the United States, Australia, part of Canada, part of South Africa, because these speak English) benefits England; everything that benefits England hurts all other countries (except the United States, Australia, part of Canada, part of South Africa).

At the present moment England spends, directly and indirectly, at least £100,000,000 per annum on armaments. None of that expense would be necessary if it were not for the fact that there exist in the world communities which do not speak the tongue of England. France also spends, directly and indirectly, £100,000,000 a year on armaments. None of that expense would be needed were there no folk in the world but French-speakers. The French army is maintained on account of the existence of Germany and other Powers. If Germany and the other Powers did not exist, there would be no need for the French to maintain an army. But if German and other not-French tongues did not exist, Germany &c.,

would not exist ; therefore, if the German tongue, &c. did not exist, the French would need no army.

Let us suppose that Germany and France both spoke the same language. In that case would those two countries need to keep armies for use against each other ? No, they would not, because (*a*) neither would want to invade the other ; (*b*) neither would care if the one did invade the other. France would belong to Germany and Germany would belong to France. Berlin would be as French as Paris is, Paris as German as Berlin. Suppose Germany were to annex France, she would not by so doing make her one whit more German than she was before the annexation, and *vice versa* if France were to annex Germany. A Frenchman would go to Germany and be as much at home there, earn a living as easily as he could in France, and *vice versa*. Compare that with the present state of things. A Frenchman at present cannot live in Germany, and *vice-versa*, because he cannot speak German. *In theory*, of course, he can live there as happily as he can in France, nobody will hurt him or molest him ; but in *practice* it means death to him, his ignorance of the language being such a frightful handicap. Let the reader of these lines just imagine how he would feel if suddenly dropped down in the middle of a country whose language he could not speak. I have developed this theme more fully in a previous chapter.

An increase in the population of one country is damaging to all other countries (unless they speak the same tongue). It increases the stress in the race of armaments. The richer other countries are the more they can arm, and thus the more you will have to arm ; the poorer they are the less they can arm, and thus the pressure of armaments on you is reduced. Japan grew in population, wealth and knowledge, and Russia therefore suffered in 1904. Prussia grew likewise, and in 1870 France suffered. Germany has

grown likewise since 1870, and England is suffering to-day in vastly increased naval expenditure. And the end is not yet. The English naval estimates have about doubled in the last twenty years; they amount to about £30,000,000 per annum at present. This increase is entirely due to the increase of population (I take population as an index) of the other European Powers, especially Germany.

It is therefore totally untrue that the growth in population and wealth of a country is of benefit to other countries. *Benefit only takes place when the countries are of the same tongue.* Thus the growth of the United States is of immense benefit to England, and *vice versa*. If the United States had a population of 1,000,000,000 souls, as it probably will have in the future, and if the United States navy were ten times as large as the English navy, as could easily happen in the future, nothing but good could happen to England therefrom, the reason being that England and the United States both speak the same tongue. The more English-speakers there are in the world the better both for England and the United States. When the United States reach their full development they will be able to crush England like an egg-shell. They will then be able, be they so minded, to annex the British Isles, destroy their independence and make of them an American province. And this is no bluster. The area of the main United States alone is twenty-five times the area of the British Isles, and in natural resources—taking the average—the two countries are about proportionately equal. But the United States will never use their power against England. Why? Because England is at this present moment, and always has been, as much a part of American soil as New York, and, of course, *vice versa*. It is utterly impossible for the United States to gain anything by fighting England. These two countries already belong to each other; they are limbs of the

76 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

same body ; when one suffers the other suffers, when one benefits the other benefits.

In stating the above it is needless to say that I attach absolutely no importance whatever to that utterly erroneous phrase, "Blood is thicker than water." Suppose a man is brought to you full of nothing but the sheerest English blood. His kith-tree has been ransacked, and not the slightest tinge of foreign admixture exists. If any one, then, could illustrate the above-mentioned phrase, it is certainly such a man as this. Yet when you speak to this man in English he can't understand a word you say ; he speaks only, say, French. You and the man are of exactly the same blood ; but is that of any use to either of you ? "Blood" without "language" is of no use whatever.

To recapitulate. You must do all in your power to damage different-speakers and benefit same-speakers. The more same-speakers there are, the better for you ; the more different-speakers there are, the worse for you. All same-speakers are your friends ; all different-speakers your foes. Foster your friends, kill your foes. And there is no neutrality, no half-way. Either you speak my language, or you don't. If you do, I am quite at home with you, you are my friend ; if you don't, I must perish among you—I cannot live among you, you are my foes.

The foregoing is not advanced as being simply the writer's opinion. It is put forward as simply a plain statement of fact, and admits of no opinion of any sort. It is a fact that two and two make four, and no opinion can alter it, and no power in creation can change it.

Reverting to the learning of foreign tongues, it is evident that reciprocity modifies the matter to a certain extent. Suppose there are 1,000,000 boys in England learning German. These boys, or rather their masters, imagine they are aiding England ; in

reality they are doing exactly the reverse ; they are damaging her. They are really aiding German interests. But suppose there are 1,000,000 boys in Germany learning English. The same thing, changing what ought, applies to them. It is evident that these two sets of boys neutralise each other : there are 1,000,000 English boys helping Germany ; but there are likewise 1,000,000 German boys aiding England.

For the reasons herebefore given, the study of foreign tongues should be stopped in, say, England. Suppose the aggregate time and trouble spent in England on learning, say, French, is represented by the annual figure £10,000,000. That really means that England spends £10,000,000 per annum on promoting French interests. England suffers in two ways : (a) The £10,000,000 should be applied in furthering English interests, but it is not. (b) This sum is used to further the interests of an enemy of England, to wit, France. (France is an enemy of England because she speaks not-English.)

I can picture the above situation better by the following illustration :—Suppose there are in a House of Parliament two hundred Tories and two hundred Whigs. The parties balance. But fifty of the Tories huff and go over to the Whigs. Their defection, though they are only fifty in number, does not count as fifty ; it reckons as double, namely, one hundred. The Tories really lose one hundred, not fifty. After the gone-over, the state of parties will be as follows : Whigs, two hundred and fifty ($200 + 50$) ; Tories, one hundred and fifty ($200 - 50$).

It is the same with the above-mentioned symbolic sum of £10,000,000. The annual state of affairs is this : England loses £10,000,000 ; but not only does she lose that sum, it is transferred to the aid of France, her foe. The real loss of England is, therefore, £20,000,000 a year.

Suppose England spends £10,000,000 a year on

78 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

some futile undertaking, such as baling out the North Sea and pouring it into the English Channel. At year-end there would be a dead loss of £10,000,000. England would not have benefited a jot by the expenditure of that sum. But also no enemy of *England*, for instance, *France*, would have benefited either by such expenditure. The total loss would be £10,000,000, no more.

But suppose England spend £10,000,000 per annum on reclaiming from the sea around France some stretch of land, till now submerged, thus adding to the area of France. At end of year England will therefore be £10,000,000 out of pocket. But that is not all the tale of her loss. Not only has she laid out £10,000,000, but France—an enemy—has *got the benefit of that outlay*. The area and wealth of France is now greater than it was, on account of the reclaimed land. Not only is England bereft of £10,000,000, but that sum has been transferred—in the shape of reclaimed land—to the pockets of an enemy, in this case France. England has therefore lost really £20,000,000.

In other words, it would be cheaper for England to spend £10,000,000 a year in baling out the North Sea and pouring it into the English Channel—an utterly idiotic job—than in reclaiming land for the benefit of France. The first undertaking does not benefit England, but it does not benefit her enemies either; the second also does not benefit England, but it *does* benefit one of her foes. It would be much better for England if her youth spent some hours a week in baling the Atlantic Ocean with tea-spoons instead of spending some hours a week in learning French (and other foreign tongues). The first proceeding, though futile and wasteful, is harmless—it does not benefit an enemy; *the second does*.

You may say the above statement is very far-fetched. I reply by asking: Why does a retreating army always spend time and effort in destroying the

fortifications it lately held, in blowing up its magazines, in burning the stores it cannot carry with it? Because it does not wish the enemy to benefit by them. An army considers—and rightly—that it is cheaper to destroy, say, £10,000,000 worth of stores than to let them fall into the enemy's hands. If they do, the enemy has received an accession of strength, represented by these stores, and the strength of the original owners of the stores has undergone a relative and proportionate decline.

In fact, an army not only does its best to prevent any benefit accruing to the enemy; it does all in its power to damage the foe.

What I have enounced in previous pages is merely what every army has practised from time immemorial. An army knows very well that everything that damages the enemy automatically benefits the said army; anything that benefits the enemy automatically damages that army.

That policy is the correct one and should be followed by nations in all their dealings with each other. But—and here is the all-important exception—this law should not, and does not, apply to nations speaking the same tongue; only to those speaking different languages.

You may say: Armies only act in war-time; their principles do not apply in peace-time. But my argument throughout this book is that there is no such thing as peace-time between communities speaking different languages. They are perpetually hostile to each other, although it is only now and then this smouldering enmity bursts into flame: this flame being naval and military war. What is called peace-time is really only a lull, and it is filled by preparations for war, to wit, armaments. England and France are said to be at peace at the beginning of the twentieth century; in reality they are as much at war as at the beginning of the nineteenth. The hostility is *latent* now, but it

is not less powerful. Let any question crop up between the two countries, and the smouldering embers of hate will burst at once into a fierce blaze. The Frenchman, say, is *exactly* as hostile to England to-day—neither more hostile nor less—as he ever has been at any period of his history, or as he ever will be at any time in the future. His hostility to England never increases and never decreases; it always remains at the *same intensity*, both during what is called “war-time” and what is called “peace-time.” A France *in alliance with* England is exactly as hostile to England as a France *at war with* England. In 1898 France and England were on the point of flying at each other’s throats (Fashoda question); a little later they gushed on each other’s necks. Yet during those two periods—one of war-talk and the other of gush—the real feelings of the two countries did not change one jot: these real feelings are always bitter hatred and enmity.

These statements appear paradoxical, but the line of argument is simple. I have already developed it in previous chapters of this book. Let us suppose a Frenchman makes two stays in England, one during a period when England and France are allied and gushing, the other when they are at war and frothing. What difference is there between the two stays? Absolutely none whatever. In both cases England is equally inhospitable to our Frenchman. Why? Because he cannot speak English. Take his first visit, for instance. During that visit England and France are at peace—in alliance, in fact. But what good does that do our Frenchman? He buys a newspaper, say. Although England and France are in alliance that does not enable him to read the paper. He meets many people, but he cannot speak to them; they do not understand him, and he does not understand them. He goes to a theatre. The play may be expressing the most enthusiastic sentiments

concerning France, but it is all wasted on our man, he cannot understand it; in any case, it would be just the same to him if they were attacking France unmercifully. If he wishes to obtain a billet to earn a living, the first question they will ask him will be: "Can you speak English?" On finding that he cannot, they will say: "We are very sorry, but we can do nothing for you unless you speak English." Of what use is all the slobber and gush about "allied nations" to our man? Despite it all he will starve in England, he will be forced to leave. England would kill him; and if that does not represent hostility that word has lost its meaning. I do not mean that he will be molested or ill-treated in England; the English laws will afford him the same protection that they do to the native Englishman. It is his ignorance of the language that will crush him.

Exactly the same thing would occur on the second visit when England and France were at war.

You may say: "But this French visitor will soon find some other Frenchmen in England, and they will make him feel at home." The reply to that is, if he lives and has dealings solely with Frenchmen, he really has not left France; he is only nominally in England. Of course, if he buys a paper printed in French he will be able to read it even though he is in England, but he would also be able to read such a paper anywhere. This only bears out my contention that the language is the thing.

Exactly the same thing would occur, of course, in the case of an Englishman visiting France. It also applies to all communities speaking different tongues.

The various folk of the world live each in its own little compartment or hive, and each man must stick to his own hive or be extinguished. The Frenchman can only live in the French-speaking hive, the German in the German, the English in the English,

82 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

and so on. It is just like fish and fowl. The fish can live and thrive in water and nowhere else, the bird in air and nowhere else. Put the bird under water and you kill it, put the fish in air and it dies. The interests of those two animals are diametrically opposed ; what is life to the one is death to the other. It is exactly the same with, say, the Englishman and the Frenchman. This difference—the difference of language—makes the folk of the world irreconcilably hostile to each other. This hostility never varies and never dies.

It may be objected that the above picture of a Frenchman visiting England may be true as far as it goes, but it does not prove irreconcilable hostility. The reply is, that I have taken the case of an individual visiting England because it shows the matter clearer. What is true of that one individual is true of the whole community of which he forms part. For instance, you may say there are in England to-day several French-speakers—in fact, in London (the district of Soho) there is a small community of Frenchmen—yet England has not suffered from any inveterate hostility on their part. That is true ; but the reason is that these French-speakers are so few in number, in proportion, that their influence is not felt. They are as bitterly hostile to England as it is possible to be, but this hostility is not noticed because they are swamped by the quantity of Englishmen surrounding them.

The same is of course true, changing what ought, of the English (or any one else) settled in France (or anywhere else).

Suppose that I increase the number of French-speakers in England until their number reach, say 20,000,000 or, say half the population of the British Isles. When that is done you will very soon see the implacable hostility I speak about. I have not increased the hostility, however ; it never increases nor

decreases, it is always at the same ; what I have done is simply to make it more evident by multiplying, in proportion, the number of people who harbour that hostility, *i.e.*, French-speakers. Suppose, I repeat, that half the people of England spoke French. Here are some of the results. Half the present House of Commons would speak French, the French-speaking electorate would elect French-speakers, the English, English. This means, of course, that half the present members would lose their seats as they only know English. Half the Cabinet would also be French. The circulation of all English newspapers, books, periodicals, &c., would be at once reduced to half what it is at present, and the circulation of French newspapers, &c., would be correspondingly increased. Half the English theatres and music-halls would have to close their doors. So would half the English churches and chapels. The possibilities of advancement for an Englishman would be only half what they are at present ; at present if he is seeking a billet, for instance, he has the whole country as a field, but if half the country spoke French he would find his field of employment and advancement reduced by 50 per cent. It would be no use him seeking a career among the French half, he would stand no chance whatever; *in theory*, of course, opportunities would be equal, *in practice*, however, the difference of speech would literally kill him. I just ask the reader—supposing him English—how he likes this picture of his native land. And it is not in the least overdrawn. Remember also that I do not say that the 20,000,000 French-speakers must be of French race or French anything. I am supposing they are English in everything but speech. In the circumstance above described, the sleepless hostility I have spoken about would come into full play. Everything would be split into two portions, detesting each other ; schools, churches, theatres, offices, firms, papers, politicians, &c., &c. To put

84 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

the matter shortly, it would be impossible for an Englishman to live in one half of the country and for a Frenchman in the other. And, mind you, this is a purely artificial state of things. Suppose I suddenly extinguish the French tongue, thus making the whole of England English-speaking as it was before. The moment I do that, the state of affairs above described vanishes like a dream; the Englishman no longer finds himself excluded from half of the country, the whole country is now his field; the circulation of English newspapers ceases to be half what it once was, and amounts to the whole figure, and so on.

The above picture describes what is always called race-hatred (in Canada, Austria, Balkans, South Africa, &c.). As a matter of fact, race-hatred does not, never has and never will exist; what is mistaken for race-hatred is really language-hatred.

It must not be supposed that two (or more) communities, though speaking different tongues, can nevertheless live in peace. That is utterly impossible. When the two communities are entirely separate, each in its own compartment (example, England and France), wars take place periodically, and the spaces between the wars are filled by preparing for war, that is, by piling up armaments. When the communities are mixed (example, South Africa), wars also take place periodically, but the spaces between the wars are not so frankly given up to armaments, because the armaments—army and navy—are bound to be more or less mixed as well. For example, the French army is all French and the English army all English, but a South African army would not be all English or all Dutch, but mixed. In the latter case the Dutch or English cannot openly and frankly and avowedly arm against each other, like, say, France and England do, because theoretically they are *one*—theoretically I say, practically they are very much *two*. But although arming against one another is not done openly, it is

perpetually and sleeplessly going on in an intriguing, back-stairs and roundabout manner, each side doing its best to score some advantage by some manipulation or other, usually secret and underhand. For instance, in 1899 in South Africa, the Government of Cape Colony, an English colony, which was theoretically supposed to do all it could to aid England, in reality bent every effort, strained every nerve, to (*a*) help the Boers and (*b*) hamper the English. In furtherance of those two objects it manipulated unhesitatingly every bit of machinery, electoral, parliamentary, constitutional, political, social, &c., as far as it could. I merely state the fact, I do not blame the said Government at all—it was quite natural—for acting in that manner, although in theory it was supposed to do the very reverse. As well blame a fish for swimming, a bird for flying, a locomotive for running, &c. The said Government, being Dutch-speaking and elected by Dutch-speakers, naturally aided the Boers (Dutch-speakers) to the full extent of its power. If the Government had been English-speaking, elected by English-speakers, it would have done exactly the reverse of what it actually did. In fact, any Government is only a puppet and the strings are pulled by the language.

CHAPTER VIII.

If there is one thing that has in all ages and all countries evoked the most passionate adoration, the most uncomplaining sacrifice, it is the national flag. Remember the patriotic hymns all dedicated to it, the paintings illustrating some glorious episode of devotion to it, the thrilling speeches delivered in its worship ; the thousands of lives given willingly in its service. It is considered the emblem and soul of the nation and the symbol of the national interests. There is no need to dilate on this point ; the pinnacle position the national flag holds among the nations is well known.

But a cold consideration of the matter leads me to the conclusion that all this flag-worship is entirely misplaced. The national flag of any country is very far indeed from representing the interests of that country—in fact, the truth is quite otherwise. The national flag of any country is one of the very worst enemies of that country. When you fight for the flag you are in reality fighting against the interests of the country which that flag represents. To put the matter concretely : When you fight for the English flag you fight *against* the interests of England. The same, change ought, of France, of Germany, the United States, &c., &c. And it always has been, is, and will be so. It must be so in the very nature of things. There are, of course, many cases where the national flag has not damaged the national interests very much, but there are also many cases in which the harm the flag has caused was very serious indeed. In the case of England and the United States, owing to peculiar circumstances, the worship of the flag does more harm than in the case of most other countries.

The line of reasoning is, shortly, as follows : The sole way of advancing the interests of a country is to advance the language spoken by that country ; anything that hampers the said advancement of the language is detrimental to the interests of the country. But the national flag is detrimental—in some cases very much, in others less so—to advancing the language of a country ; therefore, the national flag is detrimental to the interests of the country. Concrete example: To advance English interests you must advance the English tongue, but the advancement of the English tongue is hindered by the English flag, therefore the English flag damages English interests.

Leaving the explaining of this statement for a minute, there is, in the case of England and the United States (and to a lesser extent of a few other countries) a special reason why the two national flags are of serious hurt : *they halve the strength of these two nations.* For instance, the United States will not fight for the English flag and England will not fight for the United States flag. It is therefore evident that the support which can be enlisted by either flag is only half what it would be if the two nations were willing to fight each other's battles hand in hand.

But although the United States will not fight for the English flag, *it will fight to the last gasp for the English language*, and although England will not fight for the United States flag, *she would fire her last cartridge for the United States (i.e., English) language*. In other words, both will eagerly fight for each other's language, but neither will fight for each other's flag. It is evident, therefore, that insistence on flag will alienate either one or the other, whereas insistence on language will, far from causing disaccord, unite them in common cause. Let me give an example to explain my meaning. Suppose a country which I will call "A." England approaches the United States and says: "I wish to hoist the English

flag over country 'A' and annex it to the British Empire; will you help me to do so?" The United States reply, "Certainly not; we are not going to help you to extend your flag and Empire." England then, I will suppose, abandons the idea. The United States then step forward and say to England: "We, in our turn, would like to bring country 'A' under the United States flag; will you lend us your aid?" England replies: "Certainly not; if you want the United States flag hoisted over country 'A,' do it yourself." There is no co-operation between the two nations. And their attitude is quite natural. Why should the United States use their army and navy, their men and money, to extend the British Empire, to advance the English flag? And likewise, why should England use her armed forces and her money in order that the United States flag be hoisted over country "A," in order that the dominions under the lordship of the United States be extended? Each nation will quite naturally say: "We'll willingly fight for our own flag, but we're not going to fight for yours."

But suppose that England had refused to insist on the English flag, and had addressed the United States as follows: "I wish to bring country 'A' under the English language; I do not wish to annex it to the English Empire; I do not wish to hoist the English flag over it; I do not wish to exercise over it a veiled Protectorate (as I have done in the case of Egypt)—in fact, I do not wish to institute English flag or rule or exert English authority in any way. I wish to do the very reverse. As regards country 'A' I totally repudiate the English flag, and not only do I squarely refuse to hoist it there, but I utterly disown and rebuff even the suggestion of such a course of action. My sole aim as regards 'A' is to institute therein the English speech. And to effect that purpose I request your aid and co-operation."

In such circumstances, would the United States

withhold their help and co-operation ? On the contrary, they would heartily and eagerly agree to lend every aid in their power. The set-up of English speech in country "A" would be of exactly as much benefit to the United States as to England. It would be to the interest of the United States that England succeed in her design. England's failure to accomplish it would damage United States interests—in fact, the interests of both England and the United States would be exactly identical.

In the above instance I have spoken of England addressing the United States in the terms above given ; of course, exactly the same thing would occur were it the United States that was addressing England.

I am able to give a concrete example of the above illustration. In this example both England and the United States followed a wrong policy. I will also give what I conceive—my readers will judge—to be the correct policy, the policy these two countries should have followed, the policy that would have been in the best interest of all concerned.

In 1895 a boundary dispute arose between the Republic of Venezuela in South America and the neighbouring English territory of British Guiana. As usual in such cases, England claimed as hers territory which the Venezuelans stated to be part of Venezuela ; and likewise, Venezuela so drew her boundary line as to enclose territory which, according to the English contention, was part of British Guiana. The usual mutual ill-feeling arose. At this juncture the United States intervened, bringing up the Monroe Doctrine. The then President of the United States addressed to England a message or despatch which might be summed up in the words "Hands off." England was virtually given to understand that it was not a case of England against Venezuela but England against the United States.

90 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

Of the two countries, England and the United States, which was in the wrong, which was pursuing a policy not calculated to advance its own interests? The reply is: *Both*, although, of the two, on account of the circumstances of the case, the policy of the United States was, from the point of view of United States interests, the more harmful.

Let us examine the case and the three actors in the dispute. They are as follows: England, an English-speaking power; the United States, also an English-speaking country; and Venezuela, a Spanish-speaking country. The first fact to be noted then is this: The United States, an English-speaking land, took sides with a Spanish-speaking country against an English-speaking country. In other words, the United States (*a*) supported the Spanish tongue, *i.e.*, a foreign tongue, and (*b*) opposed the English tongue, *i.e.*, their own tongue. By so doing the United States violated the two laws of self-interest (see preceding chapters), which it is the aim of this little work to point out and enounce, namely: (1) Always support those who speak the same tongue as yourself; and (2) Always oppose those who speak a tongue different from yours. In other words, in acting the way they did, the United States were acting *directly and diametrically in opposition to their own interests*. It is quite true the United States *imagined* they were acting in accordance with the dictates of their interests—they did not oppose their own interests knowingly; but that does not alter the fact in any way.

Let us now turn to England. Wherein lay her fault? It was in this: insistence on the English flag. British Guiana was part of the British Empire, under the British flag, and with England it was a question as to whether the territory under the flag should increase, decrease, or remain unaltered; for instance, if England won on all points, the territory under the English flag would increase. For England the matter

was a flag question. But the true interests of England in this dispute (as in all other disputes) did not depend in the least on the English flag, but the reverse ; the English flag was of positive harm to English interests. I can best explain my meaning by setting forth what I would have done if the directing of England's policy had been in my hands.

On receiving the American President's despatch already referred to, I would have addressed the United States Government as follows :—" Far from wishing to increase the extent of territory in America under the English flag, I am quite willing to do the reverse and decrease it. I don't wish to bring one acre of Venezuelan soil under the English flag, in fact—given the circumstances I refer to later on—I am quite willing to add, not only the disputed territory but the whole area of British Guiana to Venezuela. I would not object in any way, if a certain condition be fulfilled, to hauling down the English flag from British Guiana and substituting for it the Venezuelan flag. Instead of wanting to annex part of Venezuela to British Guiana I would annex—on one condition—the whole of British Guiana to Venezuela. I do not care a rap about the English flag ; on the contrary, I oppose it in every way I can ; *I centre my interest solely on the English language.* What I wish to do, what I propose to do, is this : I propose to convert the whole of Venezuela from a Spanish-speaking to an English-speaking country. I do not wish to interfere in any way with the independence of Venezuela, with its flag, rule, rulers, creed, customs, usages, race, laws, constitution, &c., &c. I only wish to change its language. If Venezuela were to throw her independence into my lap I would refuse it. England has only one interest in Venezuela—or in any other country either, for that matter—and it is that it speak English. Instead of wishing to reduce Venezuela's area, I would increase it, if desired, by the addition of British Guiana, but of

92 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

course only on condition that Venezuela speak English. In fact, what I wish to do is to make of Venezuela another United States, that is to say, 'a country which is entirely and absolutely independent of England, *but which speaks the English language*. That is my policy, and in order to carry it out I request not merely your neutrality, but your active aid in every way."

If one were to address the United States as above stated, do you imagine that in response there would be any more high-falutin' about the Monroe Doctrine and kindred ideas? Not a bit of it. To change the language of Venezuela from Spanish to English would benefit the United States quite as much as it would benefit England. England, by engaging on such a work, would be advancing United States interests concurrently with her own, and if the United States were to refuse her help or to hamper the work, she would only be performing the unprofitable manœuvre of cutting off her nose to spite her face. A Spanish-speaking Venezuela is no use to either England or the United States. But an English-speaking Venezuela would be. I do not for one moment suggest that Venezuela should have its language changed so that England and the United States could exploit her. Venezuela would have exactly the same independence she possesses at present, not one whit less. The change would only mean that instead of two independent English-speaking countries in the world (England and the United States) there would be three: the United States, England, and Venezuela. The objection that would be advanced to this policy would be as follows: "Why should England spend her time and money on Venezuela and then not be allowed to annex the country? England ought to have a reward and should hoist her flag over Venezuela."

But what I am precisely urging is that hoisting the

English flag over a country is no reward, no advantage to England. You could hoist the English flag over the whole world and it would do England no good. A Venezuela under the English language would benefit England, but a Venezuela under the English flag would not. I will revert to the comparison I have already used. Of what use is the English flag to a London newspaper? On what does such a paper's prosperity depend? On one thing only, the English language. Deprive that paper of the English language and it is utterly ruined, although the English flag still flies over it.

The interests of England are bound up with the English language, that and nothing else.

It is perfectly true that England is a prosperous country and fills a prominent place in the world. *But none of her prosperity and influence is due to the English flag or rule, not one jot. It is all entirely due to the English language.* If the English flag were to disappear from the face of the earth to-morrow it would do England no harm, but if the English language were to be reduced very much it would utterly ruin England in every respect.

The English flag is, has been, and always will be, a foe to English interests for the following reasons: (a) It deprives England of the co-operation of the United States; the latter will not fight for the English flag (but they would for the English language); (b) It draws off the energy of England from the truest interest of England, which is the English tongue. Money and time which should be used to promote the English tongue is used to promote the English flag. (c) It hinders the spread of the English tongue.

What I have previously said practically explain (a) and (b). As regards (c), the English flag hinders the spread of the English tongue for the following reason: It is possible to get other nations to accept

94 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

the English tongue by itself; it is practically impossible to get them to accept the English tongue *plus* the English flag.

I explain. Foreign nations accept every year from England about £100,000,000 worth of cotton manufactures. But they would not accept those cottons if they had to accept the English flag along with them. If England said to France, "I will not let you have my cottons unless you agree to put France under the English flag," France would answer: "Then keep your cottons. I am quite willing to take cottons from you because it is my interest to do so, seeing that your cottons are good and useful. But I will not take your cottons if I have to take your flag with them. English cottons alone I will take, but not English cottons *plus* English flag."

It is the same as regards the English language. Some foreign communities will say: "I will take the English language alone, but will not take the English language *plus* the English flag." It is to the interest of many foreign communities to accept the English language (just as it is for them to take English cottons), but it is not to their interest to accept the English flag, and they would refuse point blank to do so.

Therefore the English flag and rule is of great hindrance to the spread of the English tongue, and therefore it is one of England's worst enemies.

The above is true of all flags and rules without exception, the English only being selected as an example.

It therefore follows that one way of advancing English interests (or, which is the same thing, of advancing the English tongue) is to diminish or haul down the English flag. This diminution is the exact opposite of what has always been done in the past and is being done in the present. The present formula is: "Advance the English flag because it

represents English interests." That formula is totally wrong. The correct one is : "Diminish the English flag and you thereby advance English interests."

An excellent picture of the error induced by the flag idea is furnished by the Spanish-American War of 1898. Who won that war? Everyone says the United States did. As a matter of fact it was really Spain who won it, and not the United States at all. Let an American (one of the "victors") and a Spaniard (one of the "vanquished") go to Cuba. The "victor" there finds he is completely at sea ; Cuba speaks a tongue of which he understands nothing, but the "vanquished" finds himself completely at home in Cuba, just as much as if he were in his native Spain. Did Spain therefore lose Cuba in 1898, as is always asserted ? Not in the least. Cuba belongs to Spain just as much at the present moment as it did in 1897. Spain has in fact gained immensely by the disappearance of the Spanish flag from Cuba. Why ? Because Spain gets just as much benefit now from Cuba as she did before, and she has now no responsibilities and expense. In, say, 1897 Spain was spending thousands of lives and millions of money over Cuba and got no more benefit from it than she does to-day, when she does not spend a penny. Cuba speaks Spanish to-day just as it did in 1897. The United States did Spain a great service in 1898 by removing the Spanish flag from Cuba, although neither the United States nor Spain knew it nor intended it. Suppose you saw a nation spending millions to convert a sparrow into a bird. Would you not say that nation was mad? And why? Because a sparrow is already a bird. But that was what Spain was doing in 1897 : spending millions to convert Cuba into a Spanish country when it was already as Spanish as it could possibly be, as Spanish as Madrid. If the Spanish flag flew over Cuba at the present moment it would not do Spain one atom of good,

would not make Cuba one whit more Spanish than it is. Suppose you saw a man at a feast with a huge burden on his neck, so heavy and oppressive that he could scarcely enjoy the feast at all. Would you not be doing him a good turn by removing the burden from his shoulders? That is what the United States did for Spain in 1898: removed the quite unnecessary burden that was crushing Spain, and thus enabled her to enjoy Cuba free of all worry. For instance, the Spanish stocks on the Stock Exchange have shown a great appreciation since 1897, and Spain generally has recuperated wonderfully. But both Spain and the United States and the rest of the world imagine that the United States "defeated" and "damaged" Spain in 1898. The exact contrary is the case. Why then did Spain fight the Cubans in 1897, &c. Simply on account of the mistaken ideas, to which I have referred in this book, about "flags," and "loss" and "gain." Spain thought she would "lose" Cuba in 1896 and 1897, and people say she actually did "lose" it in 1898. But such is not the truth. Spain has not "lost" Cuba. Could the United States have caused Spain to lose Cuba? Yes, by altering the language from Spanish to something else—English, for instance. If the United States in 1898 had changed the language of Cuba from Spanish to English, then indeed Spain would have lost Cuba, and the United States (and England, Australia, &c.) would have gained it. I need not pursue the subject further. My readers, in the light of previous and following chapters of this book, can amplify it for themselves.

CHAPTER IX.

To begin with, I will take South Africa. It can easily be foreseen from previous chapters that South Africa should have been dealt with differently from the way it was. To explain my meaning more clearly, I will suppose that I, the writer, had been invested with full power to deal with South African matters. I will suppose the date to be 1899, that is, just before the war. I would have acted in the following manner: I would have said to all concerned: "You wish to preserve the independence of the two Republics, and you fear that their independence is in danger. I care absolutely nothing for your independence. I don't want it; I would not lift a finger to destroy it; I would not take it at a gift; if you were to implore me to accept it I would refuse. Your flags and independence are perfectly safe. Far from wishing to put you under the English flag, I am only too pleased for you to remain under your own flag. I discountenance the English flag far more than you do, though, of course, for a very different reason. You deprecate the English flag because you imagine it stands for English interests, I because I *know* it doesn't. For that reason it is my policy to do all in my power to diminish the English flag. At present it flies over Cape Colony. I know very well you would like to haul it down from over that colony and replace it by an independent flag. In that desire I concur. You need not trouble about hauling it down; I will gladly haul it down myself, and you can hoist in its place any flag you like. And the reason I wish to haul it down is that the total disappearance of the English flag from South Africa would be of

advantage to England. No, I repeat, my concern is not with flags. I do not care a rap about any flag, either English or any other ; as far as flags are concerned you may do exactly as you wish, and far from even uttering a word of protest, I will aid you to the utmost of my power, whatever be the flag or flags you decide on. As far as I am concerned you can have one flag, or two flags, or ten flags, or five hundred flags, or a million flags, or any number you like to name. You say also you wish to form a South African nation or nationality, under its own flag or flags, entirely independent of England. I agree with you, and will do all I can to help you to accomplish that undertaking. But I also say, define 'nation,' define 'nationality.' If by 'nation' or 'nationality' you mean a community with its own independent existence, untrammelled by any ties whatsoever, with own government, laws, &c., &c., entirely separate from England, then I am with you. But if by 'nation' you mean a community which speaks also a language of its own, then I am dead against you. You can have everything you want, except a separate language. It is the language which is my care. I care nothing at all about your nation, nationality, flag, independence, laws, customs, creed, race, policy, or anything else, but I do care intensely about the language. The language must be English—that is the sole, the supreme consideration. This, then, is my policy : to make the whole of South Africa a solely English-speaking country. I repeat, I will not touch a single institution in the country ; I would not annex the Transvaal and Orange Free State to England if you were to come to me on your bended knees and beg and pray me to do so. If Cape Colony, Natal, &c., declare their independence and repudiate the English flag I would rejoice ; I will not lay a finger on your independence, laws, rule, race, customs, &c., &c. I have one concern, one interest, one aim, one purpose,

and one only : it is to make South Africa a one-tongue community—that one tongue to be English.

"If I can make South Africa an only-English-speaking country by peaceful means I shall be very glad, but if I can only accomplish that object by war, then I will fight without a moment's hesitation. But I repeat, the war would not be a war of annexation or conquest, it would be fought simply and solely to make the community entirely English-speaking. The ultimate aim of my policy would, therefore, be this : to make South Africa exactly what the United States are to-day, namely, a community wholly independent of England, but speaking the same language as England. You may say : 'But the policy you have just enounced means the extinction of the Dutch language in South Africa.' I reply to that : 'It certainly does.'

"Let there be no misunderstanding on the point. I will extinguish the Dutch language entirely ; *not a word, not a syllable, not a breath, not a whisper of it will remain.* I say 'the Dutch language,' not the Dutch race. The Dutch race will remain entirely untouched. It will remain exactly as it has always been. My policy is not directed against the Dutch race or against Dutch anything ; solely against the Dutch language. The sole merit of the Englishman is that he speaks English ; the sole demerit of the Boer is that he does not. And I do not wish to extinguish the Dutch tongue because it is Dutch ; if any other language, say, French or German, &c., were there it would have to go just in the same way. You may ask : 'Why do you wish to kill the Dutch language ?' I reply : 'Because the presence of more than one language in any country is the greatest curse that can afflict that country.' All the so-called 'race-hatred' is really caused by the presence of two languages ; all the wars and dissensions between the so-called 'Dutch' and the so-called 'English' that have torn

100 THE EXTINCTION IN PERPETUITY

South Africa have been entirely due to the two tongues. There lie mouldering under the soil of South Africa the bones of thousands of men who would to-day be alive and well were it not for the fact that they were brought up to speak two different languages.

Take twenty new-born babes. They, at birth, speak no language at all. Ten of them are taught Dutch, the other ten English. They are thus, when grown up, forced into hostility; they have absolutely no voice in the matter. The one lot *must* support Dutch, the other English. But had those twenty babies learnt only Dutch or only English they would not have had divergent interests. It is the most brutal, the most inhuman cruelty to allow children to be brought up to different tongues. They are born friendly, *i.e.*, without language, and hostility is inoculated into them by different-tongueness. Suppose that at birth each baby were inoculated with the germs of some noxious disease which would infallibly have a disastrous effect on the babies' after-life, bringing some to the grave in early manhood, crippling others for life, and leaving on all its baneful effects. What a howl would go up from the world at the mere suggestion of such inoculation! But that is really what different-tongueness means. It means the inoculation of armaments and war. For this reason, the Dutch language in South Africa must go. I do not mean that, under the pretext of advancing the English tongue, the country should be kept a preserve, a hunting-ground, for Englishmen. Not in the least. If every prime minister, every minister, every member of parliament, every civil servant, every official in South Africa were of Dutch race, it would not matter in the least; but it would matter tremendously if every official, &c., were of Dutch language. The same, of course, applies to England herself. It would not damage the interests of England in the

least if the English Premier, the English Cabinet, every member of both House of Lords and House of Commons in London, and every official, were of pure Dutch race; but it would damage England insupportably if all the above-mentioned members, &c., were of Dutch language. What difference does it make what race the staffs of the London papers belong to? What difference would it make if all the articles in the London Press were written by men of Dutch race? Absolutely none. But what a gigantic difference it would make if all the said articles *were written in the Dutch language*. It should be clearly understood that the only reason an Englishman (born and bred) is of use to England is because he speaks English. If he cannot speak English he is of no use whatever to England's interests. Any man of French or German, Dutch or Italian, &c., race, provided he be an English-speaker, is of quite as much value to England as an Englishman. There can be no question, therefore, of Englishmen overrunning South Africa to the detriment of those of Dutch race. Besides, South Africa will be entirely independent; it can, if it wish, pass laws expelling every Englishman from the country and totally forbidding Englishmen to land there. The United States could do so at the present moment if they wanted, and an independent South Africa could do the same. As a matter of fact, neither the United States nor an independent South Africa would be likely to pass such laws, because it would do them no good to; but nevertheless the faculty exists in the case of the United States, and would exist in the case of South Africa. And it is a fact that such a law would not damage the interests of England. When in 1783 the independent United States expelled the United Empire Loyalists they did not damage England's interests in the least. Why? Because the place of the said United Empire Loyalists was taken by men who also spoke English. The English language did

not suffer. One lot of English-speakers was ousted by another lot of English-speakers. But England's interests would have suffered terribly if it had been a case of ousting a lot of English-speakers so that their place be taken by a lot of not-English-speakers. (As a matter of fact, the expulsion of the United Empire Loyalists was of advantage to both England and the United States; but I will return to this later.) It is the same in South Africa. The ousting of one lot of English-speakers in South Africa so that another lot of English-speakers take their place, would not hurt England; but the ousting of a lot of English-speakers so that a lot of Dutch-speakers take their place, would be a frightful blow to English interests. I am not advocating a policy of expulsion of Englishmen in South Africa; I am pointing out that such a policy, though seemingly of hurt to England, would not damage her in the least as long as the English language did not suffer. Of course, it would be a policy of injustice and hardship towards the *individuals* expelled, but as long as their places were taken by other English-speakers, the interests of England and the United States would not suffer in the slightest. You may say: 'The policy you propound is that of a one-tongue South Africa. Why must that one tongue be English, why can't it be Dutch?' The reply is this: 'By making South Africa English-speaking I bring the one-tongueness of the world a step nearer; by making South Africa Dutch-speaking I recede it a step. By extinguishing Dutch in South Africa I reduce the number of languages in the world by one (Dutch in Holland will soon be extinguished by German); by killing English in South Africa I do not reduce the number of tongues in the world, as English would still be spoken elsewhere. Likewise, of the two languages, English is incomparably the most useful. At the present moment English is spoken by about 150,000,000 people, Dutch by much

less than 10,000,000. Besides, English has a vast future, Dutch has the very reverse—it will decrease in the future, not increase. Of the, say, 10,000,000 Dutch-speakers, about 6,000,000 live in Holland. As things stand at present, the fate of those 6,000,000 is absorption by Germany. They will be unable to resist the vast and increasing German power. The number of Dutch-speakers will then be only about 4,000,000. It would, therefore, be an act of supreme folly to decide that the one tongue of South Africa be Dutch and not English. I am not in the least biassed in favour of English because I am an English-speaker myself. I simply admit the facts. English is one of the most powerful and far-spread tongues in the world, Dutch one of the sickliest and most restricted. By insisting on the adoption of English, I am in reality furthering the interests of the Dutch themselves. At the present moment South Africa is far from being an English-speaking country, yet a knowledge of English is of immense value to anyone living in South Africa. By adopting English you come into immediate communication with 150,000,000 fellow-creatures all over the world—you become one of the English-speaking family; by adopting Dutch, you come into familiarity with less than 10,000,000 people, of whom 6,000,000 are doomed to early disappearance.' Another objection you may have is this: 'It is a shame to deprive the Dutch of their language.' To that I reply: '(a) It is nothing like as great a shame as never-ending armaments, dissension and war, which are solely caused by two-tongueness; and (b) it is not correct to say I am depriving the Dutch of *their* language. The Dutch (or any other folk for that matter) have no language at all—there is no such thing as *their* language. Take a dozen new-born of pure Dutch parentage. Do they speak Dutch? Not a single word; they speak no language at all. Their language is not Dutch, although they are wholly of

Dutch race; it is not English, nor French, nor German, nor anything. It is nothing at all. Take that dozen new-born and teach them Chinese. When they reach manhood they will only speak Chinese. Teach them Turkish, and at manhood they will speak only Turkish, and so on. You can bring them up to any language you like. You can give each a different tongue, one French, one Spanish, one Italian, &c., &c. It is simply sheer nonsense to talk of *their* language. No new-born have any language at all, and it is no hardship to them to learn any tongue. Therefore what I propose to do in South Africa is this : to arrange things so that all future generations shall be brought up to speak only English. The present generation, which speaks Dutch, will not be molested in any way ; facilities for learning English will be placed in their way, but if they don't wish to use them, they need not, no compulsion will be exercised. But the coming generations *must* speak English, *and English alone.*'

"Let me now picture what the result of my policy would be. In, say, fifty years from now South Africa will be exactly what the United States is to-day: an entirely independent nation speaking only the English language. The descendants of the present-day Boers will naturally be of Dutch race, *but they will not know a single word of Dutch, they will only speak English.*"

A few explanations of the above declaration of policy are perhaps necessary. "Why," it may be said, "insist so much on the absence of the English flag from such policy. Cannot South Africa be English-speaking and yet under the English flag as well." That is perfectly possible (witness Australia), but nevertheless the interests of all concerned are better served by the entire omission of the English flag from the scheme. One reason is this : by omitting the English flag I adopt the line of least resistance. It is easier to get South Africa to adopt the English language alone than to get South Africa to adopt the

English language *plus* the English flag. The benefits accruing from the adoption of the English tongue are very real and evident, but no benefit is to be obtained from the presence of the English flag. To begin with, the English flag in South Africa implies, to a certain extent, subordination, and that is very distasteful to politicians, although of course it does not affect the mass of the population. The Dutch politician in South Africa would far rather be president of an independent republic than prime minister of an English colony. It is merely the feeling of "better first in a village than second (or more likely twenty-second) in Rome." In all communities, in normal circumstances, the centrifugal force is stronger than the centripetal. The interests of politicians are always better served by, say, half a dozen small independent States than by one large one. Therefore by discarding the English flag the ground is cut from under the feet of a good deal of opposition—in fact, part of the opposition is changed into support, because many politicians want an independent South Africa, and would thereby see a means of achieving it. I cannot be accused of wishing to bring people under English domination if I expressly and evidently repudiate the English flag; if I rejoice and aid in the set-up of an entirely independent rule and flag. As regards England herself, her interests would not be damaged in the least by the disappearance of the English flag from South Africa. But her interests would be frightfully damaged by the disappearance of the English language from South Africa. As I have said over and over again in this book, the interests of England (and of course the United States also) centre solely in the English tongue, not in the flag or anything else. I suppose I may call London the head-centre of England. Why does London support English interests, why is London of value to an Englishman? Because it flies the English flag? Not in the

least. London could be so plastered with English flags as to obscure the sun at noonday and yet, if it did not speak English, it would be of no use to England's interests. Suppose that London—still flying the English flag—spoke only, say, Italian! I leave you to complete the picture, I need not insist on it.

It is exactly the same with South Africa. What earthly use to England is a South Africa that flies the English flag but which speaks only Dutch? What earthly use, in those circumstances, is the English flag to an Englishman. Everywhere in South Africa he would find the English flag but no English language, only Dutch. Is it not a million times preferable to have no English flag but all English language than to have all English flag but no English language?

It must not be supposed that I am animated by any hostility to the English flag as such. Far from it. The English flag is the same as all other national flags, a hindrance instead of a help. By taking the flag with you, you adopt the line of most resistance, you make your way more difficult than it would be without. As a matter of actual fact, the English flag in self-governing colonies such as Canada, Australia, &c., is practically only an emblem, as these countries are virtually independent. If you object to abolish the flag in certain countries, retain it; it does little harm in many instances and in others it does not prevent the carrying-out of a language policy, but only increases the difficulties of such a policy. But in many cases, to insist on the flag is to ensure the failure of the policy. In such cases it should be discarded.

There is also another reason why the English flag in South Africa should be totally discarded. Let me suppose, for the sake of argument, that England finds herself unequal to the task of making South Africa

an only-English-speaking country. If she discards the English flag she will be able to call in the aid of the United States. This is my contention: the United States will not help (or would find it difficult to help) England to put South Africa under the English flag, but they would help England to put it under the English tongue. The United States has exactly as much interest in making South Africa an English-speaking country as England has. You may say: "Look at the attitude of the United States during the Boer War of 1899—1902. They were dead against England and wildly enthusiastic for the Boers. The United States would never dream of intervening in South Africa on the side of England." To that I reply: "The United States in upholding the Boers and being hostile to England in 1899 did not know what they were doing. They were acting dead against their own interests, for this reason: they were taking the part of a community of foreign-speakers (Dutch) against a community (England) which speaks the same tongue as themselves. In other words: the United States were really—although of course they did not know it—committing the supreme folly of (a) advancing a foreign tongue (Dutch), and (b) diminishing their own tongue (English)." I have already enounced the two immutable laws of self-interest, but I will state them again: (1) Always support those who speak your tongue; (2) Always oppose those who do not speak your tongue. In 1899 the United States (as they did in 1895 in Venezuela, already noticed) broke both those laws, and therefore they were acting in direct opposition to their own interests. Of course, I do not say that in 1899 the United States Government was hostile to England. The United States Government did nothing at that time to embarrass or damage England in any way, but nevertheless the opinion of the immense majority of Americans was bitterly

hostile to England. In spite of that bitterly hostile opinion, I assert that the United States would help England in South Africa in support of the English language. Were I in power I would address the United States as follows : "The aim of my South African policy is solely this, to make of South Africa an only-English-speaking country. I do not want to place it under the English flag or rule ; on the contrary, I want to make it into an entirely independent republic, but a republic which will speak only English. I do not wish to interfere in the least with race, religion, customs, institutions, &c., &c. I simply wish to make South Africa exactly what you are yourself : an independent republic speaking the same tongue as you and I both speak, namely, English. To accomplish that I ask your aid as I find I am unable to accomplish it single-handed. By helping to carry out this policy, it is true you are aiding England's interests, but at the same time you are aiding your own and also those of the population of South Africa. An English-speaking South Africa is the only one conducive to your interests, a Dutch-speaking South Africa is no use to you (in fact, it is hostile to you) ; you have exactly as much interest as England in securing that English be the tongue of South Africa. Your interests, like England's, centre solely on the English tongue, your flag is no earthly use to you any more than the English flag is to England. It is true that you imagine, like all nations, that your interests are bound up in your national flag, but it is not so, your flag is no value to you at all (on the contrary) but your language is. Pin all your faith to your language. I am not asking you anything unreasonable. I am pointing out to you your true interests and asking you to co-operate with me in advancing them."

The United States, if addressed as above, would be forced to help. The policy of a nation is dictated by

its interests, and it would never pay the United States to see the English language diminished.

The United States is only one limb of the English tongue, just as England is another limb and Australia another, South Africa (in parts) another, &c., &c.

I do not wish it to be supposed from any of the foregoing that I am "anti-Boer." On the contrary, I am far more "pro-Boer" than even the Boers themselves. Even the most enthusiastic Boer scarcely dreams of soon seeing an independent Transvaal again; does not expect in his wildest imaginings that the Transvaal and Orange River Colony will be handed back their total independence, thus reverting to the conditions obtaining before 1899. Nor does he expect to see (although he would like to) Cape Colony constituted an independent State. Yet, if I were in power I would not hesitate a second in doing all that, and much more besides, *provided always that the Dutch language be totally extinguished, and that English alone be spoken throughout South Africa.* I am pro-Boer race, pro-Boer customs, pro-Boer flag, pro-Boer government — in fact, pro-Boer anything you like, *but I am not pro-Boer language.*

CHAPTER X.

I HAVE, in a previous chapter, given some space to the United States, but I discuss them more fully in this chapter. In modern times the chief landmarks as regards war in United States history may be specified as follows: War of 1776, war of 1812, Mexican War, War of Secession, war of 1898. Let me analyse each of these. The war of 1776 gave the United States their independence, and "unity" followed in 1787. I will not discuss here the manner in which the war of 1776 is unanimously considered, the views held as to its causes and results. Anyone can ascertain all that by reference to the thousands of books published on that matter. I wish to discard all current views and opinions, and to analyse the matter afresh. The first thing I notice, then, is this: The thirteen revolted Colonies in 1776 and England, against whom they were fighting, spoke the same tongue. Therefore, on the same principle I have previously enounced: never fight those who speak the same tongue as yourself, both the thirteen Colonies and England were wrong in their policy in 1776. Neither could gain anything, as both spoke the same language. England could not "lose" the thirteen Colonies, because, whether they won or not, they would still speak English. And likewise the thirteen Colonies could not "separate" from England, because whatever the outcome of the fight, they would still speak English. What was the correct policy for England in 1776? I will suppose that I—the writer—were directing England's policy. I would have said to the thirteen Colonies long before 1776, that is, long before there was any tension, say, in 1763, after the

conclusion of the war with France : " In the interests of both countries it is far better that you be independent. I do not want you to remain under the English flag, because we can both serve our interests better by hunting under separate flags. Our quarry will, of course, be the same. Your interest and my interest too, is to advance the English tongue, and we can both do it better under separate flags than under one. Therefore, I suggest that you at once constitute yourself an independent republic, and I will help you to do so by all means in my power. I do not wish to increase the area of land under the English flag ; on the contrary, I wish to decrease it. What I want to do is to increase the area of land under the English language. *Putting land under the English flag does England absolutely no good whatever ; putting land under the English language is of enormous benefit to her and to you too.* You—the thirteen Colonies—already speak English (all my interests are fulfilled by that fact) ; therefore, of course, there is no need for me to wish to put you under the English language—you are under it already. What I wish to do is to bring under the English language other countries which are at present under other languages. And that can be done better by your becoming an independent State. We shall not then hamper each other, and we can, and shall always, help each other, because we are both pursuing the same object. I do not care a rap about the English flag, because England's interests centre solely on the English language, and your interests likewise centre solely on the English language ; you are in exactly the same boat."

If England in 1763, say, had spoken thus to the thirteen Colonies there would have been no war in 1776. You may say : " It is true there would in that case have been no war in 1776, and no wonder. You meekly surrender everything without fighting." To that I reply : " I surrender nothing that is of value to

England ; on the contrary, by thrusting independence on the thirteen Colonies I advance England's interests. The independence of the thirteen Colonies *does not in any way diminish the English language* ; on the contrary, it helps to increase the English tongue, because the two countries are no longer hampered by each other."

And that brings me to the cause of the War of Independence. England and the thirteen Colonies both spoke the same tongue (English) and yet they fought. Why was that ? Because each thought their interest centred in the flag. England strove to keep the thirteen Colonies under her flag because she thought that it was her interest to ; she thought that if they passed away from her flag her interests would suffer thereby, she thought she would "lose" them, she thought that if they got their own flag it meant "separation," that it was a reduction of the British Empire, a breaking-off of a large part of her Empire. England, and all other countries too, thought all that in 1776, and they have thought it ever since, and they think so now. But none of it was true. These are the two laws to be noted, and they apply not only to England but to every other country: (a) No event can damage a country unless it diminish the language spoken by that country ; and (b) No event can benefit a country except it advance the language spoken by that country. Apply those two laws to the war of 1776. Did the independence of the thirteen Colonies reduce or diminish the English language ? No, not in the least. The United Colonies spoke English, and so did, and do, the United States. England thought (and thinks) that her interest depended on the English flag, whereas it really depended on the English language and not on the flag at all. The English flag is not, never has been, and never will be, of the slightest good to England. But the English language is, always has been, and always will be, of gigantic value to England. And this applies, change ought,

not only to England, but to every country that has ever existed. The flag is nothing, it is less than nothing, it is a positive drawback; the language is everything. The War of Independence, therefore, was caused by the idea that a country or empire loses if some of its territory passes to another flag. In reality a country or empire only loses if some of its territory passes to another tongue. I would never lift a finger, never spend a penny, to keep or put a country under the English flag (or any other flag), but I would fight to the last gasp and to the last farthing to keep or put a country under the English language. The war of 1776 was fought because neither of the combatants knew their true interests. So was the war of 1812. So was the war of 1861—1865. So were all wars between communities speaking the same language. The true test of a great man (as regards "international" politics, of course, not as regards science or art) is this: Has he advanced the language? Did George Washington advance the English language? No. Did Abraham Lincoln advance the English language? No. Washington is worshipped by Americans. What did he do? Absolutely nothing at all. He neither advanced or diminished the English language. You may say: "He fought England seven years and largely helped to put the thirteen Colonies under their own flag." I reply: "That was only a *nominal* change, not a *real* change. It did England no harm and the thirteen Colonies no good. It really left things as they were. Only the name was changed. Suppose you know a ship called by a certain name. Someone comes along and rubs out that name and substitutes another. Would you call that much of a change? Yet that is all the change that occurred in the thirteen Colonies in 1776. If their language had been changed, then indeed the War of Independence would have been of vast importance. I remember

seeing a statement that the Boers in 1899 were only trying to do what the Americans did in 1776. That statement is totally erroneous. The war of 1776 founded the United States of North America, but their Republic was an English-speaking one. If the Boers of 1899 had succeeded in founding a United States of South Africa their Republic would, of course, have been a Dutch-speaking one, as the Boers were Dutch-speakers. The difference is simply colossal, immeasurable, incalculable. There is every reason why the Boers should be encouraged and permitted to found an Independent Republic of the United States of South Africa; there is also every reason why the language of such Republic should be solely English and not Dutch. An English-speaking Independent Republic of the United States of South Africa would benefit all concerned: England, the Boers, the South Africans in general, the United States, Australia, &c.; but a *Dutch-speaking* Independent Republic of the United States of South Africa would be a frightful blow to England, the United States, Australia, &c., and also would harm the interests of the Boers themselves. I may here give a definition of liberty (as regards "exterior" matters) as understood by politicians (for instance, the war of 1776 was fought for "liberty"). "Liberty" is that state of affairs wherein the billets of a country are filled by the native-born, "slavery" is that state of affairs wherein the billets are filled by foreign-born. As for the mass of the people, both when "free" or "enslaved," all the part they have to play is to pay the taxes to the "liberators" or to the "tyrants" as the case may be, it makes no difference to them. In this book I uniformly advocate—subject to a certain condition—*independence* for each country which is geographically distinct. For example, I above heartily endorse the independence of the United States. But I do so on grounds totally different to those put

forward by the makers of the war of 1776. They alleged they were fighting for "liberty." I have defined "liberty" above. The truth is that nearly all "liberators" (including the men of 1776) are humbugs, either unconscious or not. The men of 1776 did not "free" America, because America was never enslaved. What they really did was to provide themselves with good billets; of course many were disinterested, but they were, nevertheless, wasting their time on what they thought was a momentous and high-minded achievement, but which was really a futility: they were unconscious humbugs. The reason I welcome the independence of the United States and advocate independence for South Africa, &c. (provided always it be English-speaking independence), is that these independent units can advance the English language more effectively than they could if they formed part of a far-spread Empire. For instance, had Australia been an independent republic in 1884, North New Guinea would now belong to English-speakers instead of to German-speakers. The Australians wanted to annex all the eastern half of New Guinea, it was England who hung back: the New Guinea question was immediate to Australia, only, say, 100 miles away (the breadth of Torres Strait); it was remote to England, 11,000 miles from New Guinea, but near to Germany.

Nevertheless, the war of 1776 had some very good consequences, although the men of 1776 had not the remotest idea of such consequences (and therefore no wish to bring them about), nor are these consequences at all those which are universally held to have constituted the results of the war. The war of 1776 had two good results, though the men of 1776 fought for neither knowingly: (a) It facilitated the spread of the English language. An independent republic was able to buy Florida, buy Louisiana, and annex California much more easily than England could have

done. Napoleon (First Consul) would not have sold (1803) Louisiana to England (and if the thirteen Colonies had remained part of the British Empire, Napoleon would have had to negotiate, not with the thirteen Colonies, but with England), but he was quite willing to sell Louisiana to a republic independent of England. (b) The expulsion of the United Empire Loyalists (1783, &c.) caused the land which is now the Province of Ontario (Canada) to become an English-speaking territory. Otherwise, Ontario would have been settled by French-speakers from Quebec. The United Empire Loyalists being expelled from the United States, were forced to settle somewhere, and many settled on the land now called Ontario. If the war of 1776 had not occurred these Loyalists would not have quitted Massachusetts, New York, &c., and consequently would not have settled Ontario. The French-Canadians would have settled it and made it another Quebec, *i.e.*, French-speaking. For these two reasons the war of 1776 was of great benefit to England, the United States, &c. Therefore, though Washington and the men of 1776 did not directly increase the English tongue, such increase was the outcome of the policy they pursued. They effected such increase without knowing it or willing it. When the wind blows dandelion fluff about, it does not do so with the intention of increasing dandelion by sowing it, and distributing it, but nevertheless, such is the result of the wind's waftings. When the men of 1776 expelled the United Empire Loyalists they did not do so with a view to spreading the English language; such an idea never entered their heads; but nevertheless that was the result of such expulsion, and therefore, though the expulsion inflicted severe hardship and great injustice on individuals, the result was of great benefit to both England and the United States. The men of 1776 therefore deserve honour because they (a) unwittingly and without designing

to, facilitated the partial extinction of the Spanish tongue in California and Florida, and the French tongue in Louisiana ; and because (b) they expelled the United Empire Loyalists, thus unwittingly and unintentionally confining the French tongue in Canada to the Province of Quebec. The aim of the men of 1776 was not to spread the English language ; all they thought of was expelling the English flag, and hoisting the American flag. And Americans to-day honour them for bringing into existence the American flag, an achievement which in itself alone is not worth mentioning. As a matter of fact, they deserve honour for spreading the English tongue—which they never thought of doing, and not for hoisting the American flag—which they did think of. They are honoured for the wrong reason. The men of 1776 did not expel the English flag and hoist the American with the object of spreading the English tongue. The talk of Washington being the Father of his country and delivering it from tyranny is nonsense.

I will discuss the invasion of Quebec (December, 1775) in the chapter about Canada, and will pass to the war of 1812. If the United States had gained all they wanted by that war, they would have annexed Canada ; in fact, that was their aim. But the annexation of Canada (excluding Quebec) would do the United States no good and Canada and England no harm. To illustrate my meaning I will repeat a joke I have often seen. I have seen it in several different papers, and therefore I suppose that it is generally recognised that there is some humour in it. It is as follows :—First Man : The blanket on my bed last night was too short, it wouldn't reach to my shoulders. But I managed to make it long enough all the same. Second Man : How ? First Man : I cut a piece off the bottom and sewed it on to the top. That joke gives an exact illustration of the foolishness of talk about annexation between Canada and the United

States (or between any same-speaking countries). The North American continent is the blanket. If you annex Canada to the United States you cut a piece off the top and sew it on to the bottom, and if you annex the United States to Canada, you cut a piece off the bottom and sew it on to the top. In neither case do you increase the size of North America or Canada, or the United States, by a square inch. There are really no such places as Canada and the United States ; they are both one and the same thing. The boundary line between them is an imaginary one. What is the difference between Manitoba and North Dakota ? There is no difference. Why is there no difference ? Because the two countries on each side of the boundary both speak the same language. Manitoba speaks English ; so does Dakota. If these two territories spoke two different languages, then indeed there would be a real boundary ; on one side would be, say, all French tongue, and on the other all English tongue. The line of cleavage would then be sharp, distinct, and unmistakable. But at present you cannot tell Manitoba from Dakota ; they are both the same, and the reason is that they both speak the same tongue. Canada is already annexed to the United States, and always has been ; the United States are already annexed to Canada and always have been (Quebec is always excepted). The Stater at the present moment has the whole North American continent as his field, because the whole of that continent speaks his tongue ; it would be no different if Canada were to be annexed to the United States. The same thing, change ought, as regards the Canadian. It would not matter a single straw to anyone (except a few politicians who would get lesser billets) if Canada (Quebec always excepted) were annexed to the United States, or the United States to Canada (Quebec excepted) to-morrow. It is true that at present Canada has one flag and the United

States another. But that is absolutely nothing—less than nothing. The sole important point is this : Canada and the United States both speak the same tongue. If there were 10,000,000 different flags in North America it would make no difference at all, provided there was only one tongue. Why does the Chicagan find himself at his ease in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, &c.? You will reply: "Because these towns are in his own country, under the same flag, the United States flag." But that is not the reason at all. Our Chicagan would find his flag of precious little use if Chicago, New York, Boston, &c., did not speak the same tongue. And here let me make another remark. Not only are there no such places as the United States and Canada, but there are no such places as England, Australia, &c. They are in reality one and the same thing, only limbs of the same body. And there is also another consideration. Why is not France a part of the United States? Because France does not speak English. England is part of the United States (and *vice versa*) because England *does* speak English. Every country that speaks English is England ; every country that speaks French is France, and so on. Why is not Italy England? Because Italy does not speak English. Suppose you are an English-speaker and you go on a sea voyage. When you return to land you find that some fairy has, during your absence, transposed the language of Italy and the British Isles : the British Isles now speak only Italian, and Italy only English. Has not that change of tongue caused England to become Italy and Italy to become England? In other words, the language, and the language alone, determines the country.

The conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing is this : it is a mistake to speak of American, English, French, German, &c. The United States American, for instance, should look on Frenchmen, Germans,

Italians, &c., as merely Americans "gone wrong," *i.e.*, people who, if they spoke English, would be just as American as he is himself. Likewise, the German should look on all other nations as Germans "gone wrong," *i.e.*, not speaking German. The United States are not the 3,000,000 square miles bounded on the north by the 49th parallel and on the south by the Rio Grande; any land, no matter in what part of the world it be, is really part of the United States if it speak English. The most important State in the North American Union is not New York, it is England, and likewise the most important part of England (except London) is New York. The world is really one, the sole divisions being those created by different tongues, and those divisions are artificial. To explain my meaning I will give an example. Suppose I have a book. I open it and find that some leaves are printed in English, some French, some Russian, &c., &c. I say: "This book is really an English book with some pages "gone wrong" (*i.e.*, those in not-English); I therefore get the said pages translated into English, and when that is done the whole book is English. That is the correct way in which the world should be considered. The world at present consists of some communities speaking English, they are all right; and other folk speaking not-English, they are "gone wrong." Alter the tongue of the "gone wrong" into English, and then the whole world will be all right, *i.e.*, will speak English.

The preceding paragraph is written from the English-speaker's point of view, but, change ought, it applies to all nations, French, German, &c., &c.

Therefore the United States (and of course, change ought, all other nations) make a mistake when they think that the United States consists only of the broad belt of land stretching from New York to San Francisco. Taking into our reckoning only the continent of North America, the extent of the United

States is as follows : the whole of the North American continent except (a) Mexico (speaking Spanish), (b) Quebec (speaking French). This brings me to my point, which is as follows : What is the policy the United States should adopt in their best interests ? I answer : Their sole policy should be to advance the English language by every possible means in their power. I do not say, advance the American rule or flag. Far from it. Do not advance the American flag and rule by one single inch ; if anything, withdraw it rather. To bring the matter from the abstract down into the concrete : The United States should use every endeavour and strain every effort to cause the whole of the New World (North, South and Central America) to speak English. They should not bother about flag, rule, government, race, creed, customs, laws, institutions, &c., &c., they should leave all these absolutely untouched, they should concentrate all their attention on making the whole New World a single-speaking country, a country speaking solely English. This policy, if successful, would result as follows : In the year 1950 South and Central America will be exactly the same as it is at present : Brazil, the Argentine, Venezuela, Peru, &c., &c., &c., will be independent Republics just as they are at present, there will be absolutely no difference whatever as regards race, rule, government, flag, creed, &c., &c. ; the sole difference will be that instead of speaking Spanish and Portuguese as they do at present, they will speak English. The New World will be under as many flags as it is at present, but it will be under only one tongue, English. The policy pursued by the United States (and by all other nations as well) up to the present has been all wrong : they have spent all their efforts on the flag when they should have spent them on the language. They have "backed the wrong horse." If you were to hoist the United States flag over every country in the world, without a single

exception, it would not do the United States a particle of good ; but if you advance the English tongue, you advance the United States interests to the utmost.

As I have shown above, the war of 1776 was not fought to advance the English tongue, but it accidentally happened to do so ; the same as regards the Mexican War of 1846 and the annexation of California. I may here say that the reason the annexation of California has proved beneficial to the United States is that it resulted (not necessarily, it just happened so) in planting the English language in California. The interests of the United States would have been just as well served if California had remained under the Mexican flag, provided the language had been English. The war of 1812 did not extend English ; if anything, it did the very reverse, because a lot of English-speakers, on both sides, got killed in it. I now come to the War of Secession 1861—1865. That war is the greatest folly the United States has ever committed. 1776 resulted accidentally in an extension of English, so did 1846 to a lesser extent. Roughly speaking, 1812 and 1898 did not, but they were on a small scale. 1861 also did not and was on a gigantic scale. I will not enter into the details of the war of 1861 (Secession), for that I refer you to the history books. I will give you a picture to explain what that war (and its result) really was. I will suppose the population of London to be exactly 8,000,000. Of that I will suppose exactly 4,000,000 are, say, German-speakers and the other 4,000,000 English-speakers. The two tongues are therefore exactly equal. But the 4,000,000 English-speakers split into two camps, each of 2,000,000, the one calling itself the North camp and the other the South. The two camps begin fighting. They fight and fight, and finally the North overcomes and subdues the South. But the struggle has reduced the numbers on both sides considerably. The North now numbers only 1,000,000

and the South only 1,000,000, total 2,000,000. They are both also much poorer. What has been the result of this conflict? The result is this: the German-speakers without lifting a finger have relatively doubled their numbers. Before the conflict the numbers were: German-speakers, 4,000,000; English-speakers, 4,000,000. Now the numbers are: German 4,000,000, English 2,000,000. The net result is then: the English-speakers have lost heavily in money and lives, and the not-English speakers have gained relatively. It was the same in the War of Secession. The North and South States lost thousands of lives (*all English-speakers*) and wasted millions of money; the only gainers were, relatively, the not-English-speaking communities of the world. The United States are a powerful nation to-day, but they would be far more powerful and prosperous if the war of 1861—1865, fought for the purpose for which it was fought, had never happened. But the loss of money and men above-mentioned is not the most important reason why 1861 was folly. It is quite right to incur losses, but they should be incurred in doing something useful, not wasted in a futility. The men and money spent in 1861—1865 were spent in reducing the English language. They should have been spent in furthering it. To come to the point: *the money spent in 1861 reduced the English language, but if properly used it would have sufficed to bring the whole of the New World under the English tongue.* Just compare the two policies: (a) the one which was actually pursued, and (b) the one I enounce and advocate. (a) did not further the English tongue one jot, it reduced it. The North and South spoke English before the war and they spoke English after it—it made no difference. But if (b) had been followed, all South and Central America would now speak only English. Just think of the difference it would make if all the New World spoke only one tongue. At present Canada and the

United States speak English ; Quebec, French ; Brazil, Portuguese ; Argentine, &c., Spanish. This does not reckon the various Indian tongues spoken throughout Central and South America. To bring the whole New World under one tongue could have been done easily in the past, and it can be done easily yet. If I (the writer) had been in power in the United States in 1861 (or any other date) I should have bent every effort to accomplish that change of tongue. I would not have cared a rap about "union," about the flag, about slavery, or about anything else but that one thing. The adoption of one tongue, English, by the whole New World would be of immense benefit to all concerned. I will take the area of the New World as 15,000,000 square miles. If I extend English over the whole New World I really increase the area of each country (reckoning only the New World) to 15,000,000 square miles. Thus the official United States, instead of having an area of 3,000,000 square miles (the present area excluding Alaska), at once jumps to really 15,000,000 square miles. The official Argentine Republic at present has an area of 1,000,000 square miles. It would then have a real area of 15,000,000 square miles. I will explain. At present a Brazilian travelling about in the New World finds himself at home only in one country, Brazil. If he goes to the Argentine he finds there another language (Spanish). If he goes to Mexico, he finds Spanish. Only in Brazil does he find his own language, namely, Portuguese. He goes to New York, Chicago, Boston ; there he finds another tongue, English. He goes to Quebec ; he finds there still another, French. What the United States should do in their own interests and in the interests of all the folk in the New World is to make the whole territory speak English. This policy would benefit Brazil, Quebec, and the Argentine, &c., still more than it would benefit the United States. All these countries will find it to their

advantage to adopt the English language, but they would not find it pay them to adopt the American flag, rule, &c., &c. For instance, Brazil will benefit by adopting the English tongue, but it will lose by adopting the American (or any other) flag. I will discuss the case of Brazil, but it is typical of all the other countries of the New World. If Brazil adopts English, Brazil will gain and the United States and Canada will gain, *but Brazil will gain most*. Why? Because Brazil will exchange a "narrow" tongue for a "wide" tongue. The total number of Portuguese-speakers is about 25,000,000, the total of English-speakers is about 150,000,000. At present the Brazilian has a "field" of 25,000,000; if Brazil adopts English he will have a "field" of 175,000,000 (*i.e.*, 150,000,000 *plus* 25,000,000). The New Yorker, say, at present has a "field" of 150,000,000; if Brazil adopts English he will have a "field" of 175,000,000. Brazil and the United States would occupy exactly the same position towards each other as England and the United States occupy: two totally independent countries in every particular but speaking the same tongue. What the United States should do is as follows: A conference should be summoned of representatives of all the countries in the New World: Canada, Quebec (Quebec is only nominally in Canada, in reality it is a separate country), Mexico, Venezuela, Peru, Argentine, Brazil, &c., &c. The United States should then say: "In the interests of all concerned I propose that immediate steps be taken to secure that the New World in the future be a one-tongue world, and I suggest that the said tongue be English. The interests of the United States will be advanced thereby, but the interests of the other countries will be still more furthered by that policy, because they will be exchanging comparatively small and restricted tongues for a world-wide tongue. It must also be clearly understood that I do not want to touch the laws,

flags, institutions, races, creeds, governments, independence, &c., &c. of any country; all I desire is the adoption of the English tongue. I have no designs on the independence of any country—in fact, if you were to implore me to take your independence, I would not accept it at any price. It would do me absolutely no good whatever to hoist my flag over any of you, or to annex any of you, or to rule any of you, or to have anything whatever to do with any of you. I want nothing at all to do with any of you; you will be as exempt from my interference as if you were on the planet Mars: I have simply and solely one object in view, to induce you to adopt the English tongue. If you will do that I am prepared to make you a grant out of the United States Exchequer (or to help you to the utmost of my power in any way) as I recognise that the very best use to which I can put the public money of the United States is to use it to spread the English speech. The ultimate aim of my policy is this: instead of having about a dozen Republics speaking several languages, there will be about a dozen Republics speaking only one language. *The only thing that will be changed will be the language; absolutely nothing else will be touched.* And I do not propose this policy as a deep-laid scheme by which Staters may gain some advantage over you, may exploit your country. You can (being entirely independent) pass the most stringent, in fact, prohibitive, immigration laws, or any other laws, directed against my citizens, and I will not say a word. You can forbid them to land in your country if you like, and you can expel those already there. As long as you adopt English, my interests are fully safe-guarded."

But suppose Quebec, Brazil, Mexico, &c., refuse to agree to the policy above announced. Suppose they say "We won't adopt English." What then? In that case the United States should enforce the policy by force of arms. It would not be difficult, especially

in view of the fact that the United States could reckon on the *active* co-operation of England, Australia, Canada (except Quebec), and part of South Africa (the English-speaking part). Take the case of the Argentine. About a fifth of the folk of that Republic are concentrated in Buenos Ayres, a town easily takable. The rest of the country could be soon overrun. But what would facilitate matters most would be this. As the war would be not a war of conquest or annexation, or anything like that, but would be fought solely to get the English tongue adopted—a policy which would benefit the Argentine more than anyone else—it would not be difficult to sow disunion among the Argentine leaders. A war fought to destroy the independence of Argentina and to annex it, would meet with a solid front of opposition, but not so a war unwillingly undertaken solely to carry out a beneficent reform. I express the position concisely as follows: “Put the whole continent under one tongue; do it peaceably if you can, but do it.” To do it by war would cost more, probably, than to do it by peace, therefore war should not be resolved on except as a last resource. And, also, it should be clearly understood that the very minute the country agreed to adopt English, the war would cease and the invaders go home, bag and baggage.

I will here make a digression into a financial question. The most profitable use to which a community can put money is to spend it on fostering the language. Nothing pays like it; no commercial enterprise can compare with it. The reason is as follows: Take a commercial undertaking—a railway, for instance; you require capital to build the line and buy rolling stock, say £100,000,000. On that you have to pay interest—supposing you have raised the money by loan, say 3 per cent., equals £3,000,000. But that is not all; you have to spend a large sum

yearly in keeping the line and rolling stock in repair, say £2,000,000. And then you have the working expenses, i.e., coal, engine drivers' wages, &c., coming to, say, £4,000,000. Your total annual expense is (a) £3,000,000, (b) £2,000,000, (c) £4,000,000. Of those three amounts (a) is temporary, but (b) and (c) are permanent. You can in course of time pay off the loan you floated in order to build the line; when you have done that, of course the interest charge will cease. But (b) and (c) will never cease; they run on for ever. As long as the line lasts it will cost money for repairs, and as long as you run trains there will be working expenses. Now, compare that with a like expenditure incurred in furthering your language. Suppose the United States change the language of Mexico to English and that such alteration cost £100,000,000, raised by loan at, say, 3 per cent. The following will be the statement of expenditure: (a) Interest on loan, £3,000,000; (b) upkeep, *nil*; (c) working expenses, *nil*. In course of time the loan of £100,000,000 would be paid off; the reckoning will then be: (a) Interest on loan, *nil*; (b) upkeep, *nil*; (c) working expenses, *nil*. There is absolutely nothing that pays so well as furthering the language. Every penny spent on that yields immense profits, and those profits continue for ever, increasing year by year, and they are never lessened by working expenses nor by upkeep charges.

I will suppose that to change the tongue of South and Central America will cost £5,000,000,000. It need not cost so much, but I will suppose that figure. It would be very cheap at the price. Remember that the United States spent in 1861—1865, to say nothing of other wars, directly and indirectly, quite £2,000,000,000 (omitting compound interest); and remember that that sum *was spent in reducing the English language*—(of course, the United States did not intentionally spend this sum to lessen the English

tongue, but that was, nevertheless, the result). I put you this question : If the United States could spend £2,000,000,000 in *reducing* English (*i.e.*, in damaging their own interests, in cutting their own throats, both actually and metaphorically), don't you think they could easily spend £5,000,000,000 in *furthering* English (*i.e.*, in furthering their own interests) ?

I myself think that one of the most potent weapons in dealing with some of the Central and South American Governments would be gold. If money were lavished without stint, a good many willing and eager assents could be bought. This is all the more likely as you would not be acquiring sovereignty or territory, or a right to rule or to interfere in any way. You would simply be buying their consent to the adoption of English. You would not enter into the matter at all; they themselves would effect the change without any outside intervention. Only in the case of their refusing to adopt English would you intervene, by force of arms if needed, and then your intervention would be confined to the single and sole matter of altering the tongue. It would also pay the United States to bear all the expense of the conversion, making grants to the various governments. As I said before, if it cost £5,000,000,000 it would be very cheap at the price, because (*a*) the benefits at once accruing would be sufficient to pay interest on the capital expended, and (*b*) once the conversion effected, its good effects would continue for ever, growing year by year.

To English-tongue South and Central America would not be difficult. Here is one reason. There are vast tracts of land which have scarcely any population at all. Take the Amazon basin, for instance. Its area is about 3,000,000 square miles, and the population is only about 3,000,000, say about one person to the square mile. And of that population a large part are Indians, speaking several tongues of

their own, the remainder of the population being mainly Portuguese-speakers and Spanish-speakers. It is evident it would be easy to English-tongue the Amazon Valley, and to secure that the future population of that tract of land speak English and English alone. I do not say the United States should annex the Amazon Valley. Nothing is further from my mind. Such a proceeding would be a great mistake, it would do the United States no good at all, and would hinder the success of the policy I here enounce. Let the inhabitants of South America do exactly as they like in every respect except that of language, and only interfere as regards language if they refuse to effect the alteration themselves. It must also be remembered that South and Central America are virtually uninhabited countries. The only parts at all populated are: parts of Mexico, parts of Chili and Argentina, and parts of the coast fringe of Brazil. The rest is virtually virgin soil.

I am not advocating a policy that would be detrimental to South America. On the contrary, nothing would benefit South America so much as the adoption of the English tongue. Suppose the policy I here enounce and advocate be carried into effect. In, say, 1950 Argentina would speak only English, but would be an independent republic under its own flag as at present. So would Brazil, &c. In fact, all the New World would speak English. In those circumstances, do you imagine Argentina, &c. would wish to return to the old state of affairs in which the New World was split among several tongues? Not likely. If the Argentine once learn English, they will never want to go back to Spanish. If Argentina, &c., once experience the benefits conferred by a one-tongue New World, they will not want to go back to a several-tongue New World. This policy I propound is no idle dream; it can easily be done, and it is worth doing. It is to the benefit of all concerned. If I had been in power

in the United States in the past, I would have bent every effort on carrying out that policy. And to-day you would see the result ! Buenos Ayres, Santiago, Rio de Janeiro, Mexico City, New York City, Quebec City, and also of course London, Cape Town, Melbourne, Auckland, &c., &c., would all speak the same language, to wit, English. They would all be just as independent of each other and under as many flags as they are at present, but there would be only one tongue.

There is another fact which requires notice. I have seen statements that sooner or later the United States will annex or control some, at least, of the Central and South American Republics. As a matter of fact, the policy I enounce above is the surest antidote against such action. If you are afraid of being annexed by some powerful-neighbour, the surest way—in fact, the only efficacious way—to prevent such annexation is to adopt the tongue of the said neighbour. If you do so you are safe. The exact contrary of this has, however, always been considered the correct view. I explain. The Transvaal Boers were always fearful of losing their independence to England, and took what they deemed every precaution to guard against such an event. And yet, despite their efforts, the very thing they dreaded most came to pass. Why was that ? Because they took every precaution except the right one. Had the Boers discarded the Dutch tongue and taken up English, the war of 1899 would never have occurred, and the Transvaal would still be to-day an independent republic. The existence of the two languages set up divergence of interest which resulted, as it always does, in war. The war was attributed to flag and race, but it was language, and language alone, which caused it. Had the Transvaal spoken English there would have been no divergence of interests. I have developed this theme more fully in a previous chapter.

Take the case of the United States and Mexico. At present every Stater who goes to Mexico (and, of course, the same applies indirectly to those who do not go to Mexico) is an enemy of Mexico, although he does not know it, and would certainly indignantly deny it, and the Mexicans themselves do not know it and will deny it. But it is true nevertheless. I prove it as follows: One Stater (an English-speaker) goes to Mexico (a Spanish-speaking land); no effect is visible. Another goes; still no effect. A hundred go; still no effect. A thousand go; still no effect. A million go; the effect now begins to show itself. Ten million go; the effect is now startlingly plain. And what is that effect? It is this: there is now in the heart of Mexico—a Spanish-tongue country—a solid, undigested, unabsorbed lump of 10,000,000 folk *who do not speak Spanish*. If the Mexican go among those folk he will find himself lost; only English-speakers can thrive among them. That solid mass of 10,000,000 English-speakers in Mexico will form a State-within-a-State. Mexico has not absorbed them. The Mexican's interests are bound up with the Spanish tongue, but the interests of those 10,000,000 are bound up with the English tongue. I need not pursue the illustration further.

Of course, exactly the same applies to Mexicans in the United States. Suppose there arose in the heart of the United States a solid body of, say, 40,000,000 Mexicans (Spanish-speakers). Is it not evident that they and the Staters would not mix? It would be a case of oil and water; the two communities would have divergent interests and conflicts would arise. The Staters would soon admit that the 40,000,000 Mexicans in their midst were not their friends. It would be evident, because the matter would thus be *directly* before them; when the Mexicans are south of the Rio Grande, the matter is *indirect* and therefore not recognised, *but it is not thereby altered in the slightest*.

There is only one way by which you can obtain certainty that the United States will not annex Mexico. That way is to cause the United States and Mexico to speak the same tongue.

Nations throughout history have constantly annexed territories. They have done so from an entirely mistaken idea as to their own interests. They should not have annexed, but have changed the tongue. Nations have always endeavoured to place their flags over as much territory as possible, *i.e.*, to annex as much as possible. If a nation has refrained from annexing when it could have done so, it has been because it considered that it was inexpedient to increase its responsibilities too much, because it did not wish to bite off more than it could chew.

The War of Secession was fought to prevent the Southern States breaking off, to prevent a "separation" between North and South. The question of slavery was subordinate. As a matter of fact, if the South had succeeded it would not have caused disunion; union is caused by same tongue and not by same flag. There was, and is, a real "separation" in the New World. For instance, Mexico and the United States are really "separated." The North and South both spoke the same tongue, yet they fought. I have already given the reasons in previous chapters, but I will repeat them. They are two: (a) Because of the belief—entirely wrong—that the flag confers unity; and (b) because the United States in 1861 had not been commercialised sufficiently, *i.e.*, had not reached such a pitch of commercialisation as to render the thought of war synonymous with heavy losses—in fact, with commercial standstill. Take a railway map of the United States in 1860, and compare it with one of 1900. They speak for themselves. It is probable, nevertheless, that the North was commercialised enough to have negatived a war if it had known that

a war would last four years. The policy of both England and the United States in the New World (and elsewhere) has consistently been wrong—unconsciously, it is true, but wrong all the same. From the very moment the New World was discovered, in 1492, it should have been England's policy to secure that the New World should speak English. The thirteen Colonies and England should never have fought each other in 1776, they should have combined in order to spread the English tongue. They should have done that in the past, they should do it to-day. One of the greatest mistakes a community can make is to damage a same-speaking community. Never hurt those who speak your tongue, but do all you can to hurt those who don't. (Of course, the latter part does not apply if they are changing their language to yours; do all you can to aid *that*.) I did not create those laws. They have existed since the beginning of the world, and they will endure till all life ceases. Every community that has ever existed has been unconsciously controlled by them, and they rule every nation in the world to-day, without the nations knowing it. If a community transgress these laws (they were transgressed in 1776, 1812, 1861, unconsciously), it has to pay the penalty, just as Nature exacts retribution for every transgression of her laws. Just think of the spectacle of 1861—1865: vast expenditure used in *reducing* the English tongue, when the same expenditure would have sufficed to spread it over the whole New World. Compare the results of the two policies: (a) the one which *was* actually followed in 1861, and (b) the one I enounce and advocate, which *should have been* followed in 1861 (or any other date). The result of (a) is the United States as you see it to-day, bearing in mind that the destruction occasioned in 1861 retarded the country's progress, and the result of (b) would have been a New World speaking only one tongue, to wit, English. Is there any comparison

between the two? Which of the two is the most beneficial?

This policy can easily be effected yet, and should be put in hand at once. Without exaggeration or undue presumption, I can say that there is none that can work more benefit to all concerned. And you need not fear the judgment of posterity.

CHAPTER XI.

THE chief point about Canada is Quebec. Quebec flies the English flag but talks French. Quebec, which speaks only French, is an English colony. On the same principle I expect a land that speaks only English is a French colony. Likewise, a land that speaks only German will be a Chinese colony; one that speaks only Turkish, an Italian colony, and so on. And I suppose a book written entirely in French is an English book, and one in German only, a Japanese book, &c.

Canada offers a splendid example of the wrong policy. The Report of Lord Durham (1838) is always considered a model of statesmanship. Panegyrics on that Report abound; it has healed the strife till then prevalent, allayed race-hatred, solved all problems, &c., &c. But the truth is that the said Report is exactly the reverse of what it is considered to be; it is really a monument of error. The policy it advocated, and which was pursued, is as wrong as wrong can be. And the proof of my statement? The proof is the Canada of to-day. You cannot have a better proof. In 1837 Quebec spoke French; to-day it speaks it still. I will just review the entire policy pursued as regards Canada since the cession in 1763, and draw attention to a few salient facts. In 1763, when Canada passed to the English flag, the French-speaking population was about 60,000. Now it is about 1,800,000. *In other words, the French language has increased about thirty-fold since Canada passed to England.* And that is called a brilliant policy! Then I suppose that if French had increased sixty-fold, it would have been more brilliant still? In

other words, a policy which fills an English colony with French-speakers is a brilliant one! Wonderful! On the same principle, England could have scored a grand success by filling Australia with French-speakers. The truth is that the policy England pursued towards Canada in and after 1763 was wrong to the core. It is only another instance of the ruination caused by the flag idea. England pursued the flag policy, annexed Canada and put it under the English flag, and let the French language thrive, and the result we now see to-day. Suppose I had been in power in 1763, this is what I would have done. I would have spoken as follows : " Now that the war is over, I will explain my policy as regards you. It can be summed up in a few words. The whole of Canada must speak English, and English alone. I will not annex you; I don't want you; I will not put you under the English flag—in fact, I want nothing whatever to do with you. You can do exactly as you like. If you want your independence, take it. I give it you joyfully with both hands. Do you wish to haul down the English flag? You needn't trouble, I will do it myself this very minute with the greatest of pleasure. I only have one aim : to secure that eventually there shall only be one language in Canada—English. If you will effect the change yourselves, I shall be only too pleased. I will not interfere in any way. If you like I will even pay the expenses, and more, of the conversion, so that it will cost you nothing ; in fact, you can make a profit on the deal. But if *you* won't do it yourselves, then *I* will do it. If it can't be done peacefully, it will be done forcibly. My attitude is this : if it can't be done one way it will be done another ; *it shall be done.*"

The French-speakers in Canada in 1763 only numbered about 60,000, and the above policy could have been carried out with ease. In about forty years from 1763, say at the beginning of the eighteens, in

1800, the French tongue in Canada would have been virtually extinct. There would have been no rising in 1837, no rebellion in 1870 (Red River, Manitoba). Both those insurrections were due to the presence of the French tongue. They were not due to "race-hatred," "racial animosity," which do not exist; they were caused by the presence of more than one tongue. The result would have been that to-day the whole of Canada would speak English: throughout the Province of Quebec nothing but English would be known. But the policy I enounce above was not followed: the result is that Quebec now speaks only French. England threw away the kernel and retained the shell. I remember when a child, one of my school books held up to ridicule the folk who, when tea was first introduced, brewed a pot of tea and then threw away the tea and ate the leaves. That is what England did in Canada (and elsewhere too); since 1763 (the date of the cession) she has eaten tea-leaves. And the most amusing part of it is that she pats herself on the back and imagines she is doing something clever. I continue: In December, 1775, the Americans invaded Quebec. The English troops, aided by French-Canadians, repelled the attack. Thereat England rejoiced greatly. As a matter of fact, she should have wept. The action at Quebec really meant that England was helping a foreign tongue, French, against her own tongue, English. The Americans were English-speakers; the French-Canadians, French-speakers. And England helped the latter against the former. The action of the French-Canadians in 1775 has always been held up as a shining example of their loyalty to the English flag. They may be loyal to the English flag, but that does England no good. They are utterly disloyal to the English tongue, and that is what really matters. I intended to discuss several other matters, such as the birth-rate in Quebec, the influence of the

Catholic Church in that province, the Manitoba and North-West Territories schools questions, the Alaska boundary question, the Treaty of 1842 (Maine boundary), the war of 1812, &c. But it would take up too much space; also it is unnecessary, because if my readers have carefully read the preceding pages, they can easily see for themselves what is the correct view to take on these matters. I therefore pass on. What is past is past; let us come to the present. What policy should be pursued in Canada at the present day? I reply: The same—already mentioned—that should have been pursued in 1763: extinguish the French language. Let Quebec have anything or everything but that. An independent English-speaking Quebec—I mean not only independent of England but likewise independent of the rest of Canada—is a million times preferable to the present one. At this suggestion a howl will at once arise: "You'll destroy the Confederation if you let Quebec have a separate independent existence." To that I answer: "Your Confederation is only a name, a delusion, not a reality. Quebec is only nominally in the Dominion, in reality it is a separate country at present. What you have at present is *sham* unity, what *I* propose is *true* unity. Take, say, a Toronton and put him down in Quebec. He will still be theoretically in Canada; above him he will see the same flag as he saw in Toronto; but in reality he might just as well be in the middle of France or Germany or Russia, &c. Unity is conferred by language, not by flag." It would be easy to convert Quebec to the English language. Let Quebec make her own terms. If she will effect the change herself, give her *anything* she wants. If she won't do it herself, then, and then only, do it for her. If she won't let it be done peaceably, then do it by force of arms. The French-speaking population is about 2,000,000. If necessary, English-speaking Canada, the United States, England, Australia, and

part of South Africa (the English-speaking part) should combine to enforce the policy. As a matter of fact, in case of contumacy, the best way would be to play the French-Canadians off against each other: a great many could be won over if handled judiciously. No one would gain more from this policy than the Quebecers themselves. Take a curious instance. The minority at Montreal speak English and they possess a far larger share of trade, &c., than the French-speaking majority. This is always attributed to the superior commercial capacity and energy of the English race. But the true reason is that the English-speaking section of Montreal speaks the dominant language in the North American continent. They have thus an immense advantage. They are no cleverer than the French-speakers, but the latter are fatally handicapped by the fact that they speak a language that does not run beyond Quebec. If this policy of Englishing Quebec be effected, Quebec will never want to revert to the previous system of two languages. Once it is done it is done for ever. The Quebecers themselves would be the first to resent any return to the old system. There are in the United States to-day thousands of people speaking only English whose parents or ancestors could not speak a word of it. Suggest to them that they discard English and revert to their several ancestral tongues—Polish, German, Dutch, French, &c., &c. What sort of a reception would they accord your proposition? I need not discuss Canada at further length, the main matter is set forth above; the rest is only detail.

CHAPTER XII.

THE rise, heyday, decline and fall of the Roman Empire have engaged the ablest pens. Its fate also constantly serves as a scarer for the empires of the modern world. Rome fell, so will you, is the gist of a good many dissertations on the subject. I believe it to be a fact that most authorities are not agreed as to the real causes of the fall of Rome. Some adduce this cause, some another. I venture to put forward in the following lines a view on the matter. To begin with, what was the Roman Empire? I suggest that the fall of the Roman Empire, properly so-called, was a matter of very minor importance, instead of being, as is always considered, an event of colossal importance. The proof is as follows: A man invites me to look at a book of his. He calls my attention to the binding, the strength, the quality, the flexibility, the suitability to purpose—in fact, the general excellence of the binding. I reply to him: “I agree with you about this binding; I admit that it has seldom, probably never, been equalled, certainly never excelled.” I open the book. I find the contents far inferior to the binding—in fact, muddled, without proper sequence, of little value in many parts. I at once say to my friend: “Your binding is excellent, but the matter contained in the binding, the book itself, is valueless. I cannot understand why you have spent so much on binding such nonsense.” My friend answers: “Oh, I never bother about the inside, I only care for the binding.” The above is an illustration of the Roman Empire, and of most other empires too. They are simply a binding. The gentleman above mentioned, who, as regards his books, “never bothered about the inside”

would be universally considered a fool. Yet all who have dealt with empires in deed or word have acted on the lines of the above gentleman. They also "never bothered about the inside." I give a further illustration. Someone hands me a book. It has a splendid binding and I admit it. I open the book. It is properly paged and arranged. The first page is printed in English, the second German, third French, fourth Russian, and so on right through to the end, every page a different language. I say to the owner : "Your book is finely bound but the inside is not much use to me. I can understand the first page because it's in English, but I can't read any of the others. I suppose you can read them all ?" "Oh, no," replies the owner ; "I'm like you, I can only read the first page." I ask : "Then what's the use of the book to you ?" The owner replies : "It's a splendid binding." I insist : "But apart from the binding, what's the good of it. You can only read the beginning of the story, that is, the first page ; the rest of the story's a blank." The owner then says : "I never looked at it in that light before. If you put it in that way, I must admit that the book's no use to me, apart from the first page. But all the same, I'm the owner of it, it's *my* book." Isn't it evident that (a) in order to make the book of value every page should be printed in the same tongue, and (b) the binding in itself, be it never so splendid, has no value whatever ? If there *were absolutely no binding at all*, if every page were wholly loose and independent, it would not matter a straw, provided every page were in the same tongue. If every page were in English. I could read them all, even if there were no binding at all. For "binding" read "empire," and the illustration is made plain. The "fall" (or fall-to-bits) of an empire is of no more importance than the "fall" (or fall-to-bits) of the binding of a book. Suppose the binding of a book comes undone. It makes no difference ; you can read

the book just the same without a binding, provided the book be written in your language, that is, provided the inside be all right. But suppose the book be not so written, the finest binding in creation will avail you nothing. An empire is exactly like a book : a book has two parts (*a*) binding, of no importance whatever, and (*b*) inside, of supreme importance ; likewise, an empire has two parts (*a*) binding (government) valueless, and (*b*) inside (language) of sole importance. If the binding of an empire come undone it matters not a rap, but if the inside change its character (meaning, if the inside become of another language), that indeed is an event of vast importance. Apply the foregoing to the Roman Empire, we find : Binding, excellent ; inside, of little worth. In other words, the inside of the Roman Empire *was not a one-tongue inside*. Latin was the tongue of Rome, but it was not the tongue of the Roman Empire. The Eastern half (which eventually became the Empire of the East) spoke Greek, not Latin. There were also a good many other tongues besides Latin and Greek. It is true the general administrative tongue was Latin, and Latin did soak in to a certain extent—witness modern Italian, Roumanian, French, &c.; but the Roman Empire was never a one-tongue Empire in the same sense that, say, London is a one-tongue city. Therefore the “fall” of the Roman Empire really meant only the “fall” of the binding. The inside was never much good, it therefore could not “fall” because it always was “fallen” (meaning, not one-tongue); you cannot make a cow a quadruped, because a cow has never been anything else but a quadruped. The Romans made the great mistake, so religiously repeated by all their successors, of lavishing all their care on the binding and never bothering about the inside. They should have done the exact reverse : ignored the binding and spent every effort on the inside. If you wish to make a book you concentrate

your attention on the inside and do not trouble about the binding. Take the present little work, for instance: I haven't the slightest idea what sort of a binding it will have, and I don't care; all I wish is to make it of value to my readers by writing it in one language. If its inside were written in several languages the book would be worthless, as practically nobody could read it. What the Romans should have done is this: they should have caused the whole empire to speak Latin, and Latin alone. They should have killed every tongue but that. It mattered not whether the binding (meaning the Central Supreme Government in Rome) remained intact or not, as long as the inside was of only one tongue. I do not deny that the Romans were a folk of immense ability, that the mark they left on the world will never efface. Their superiority lay in ideas, and their ideas would have spread far more rapidly and effectively than was actually the case if their empire had been of only one tongue. Language is the vehicle of ideas, and the surest way to spread the ideas of a community is to spread its language. But of course the Romans spent all their care on the binding because they themselves were the binding, the inside being of course the various subject races. It was quite natural on their part; they thought mainly of themselves; the doctrine of "government for the benefit of the governed" did not exist then (it is very far indeed from existing entirely even now), rather was it "government for the benefit of the governors." The former doctrine has come into—partial—being to-day because the world is now more or less commercialised; in Roman days commercialisation was virtually non-existent; hence the everlasting faction fights for power among the Romans themselves. But the germ of commercialisation (although the populace meant "free" bread) is visible in the cry "Bread and circuses." That really meant, crudely: You may wrangle as much as you like,

only we want no interference with our living and our amusements. That is practically the attitude adopted to-day by, say, the average Englishman towards his politicians: Wrangle as much as you like as long as you don't interfere with my pocket. The Wars of the Roses would be impossible in England to-day, because the folk would not stand their property being destroyed, businesses ruined and taxes increased to extortion simply in order to decide which of two candidates should sit on the throne.

CHAPTER XIII.

I HAVE said that the only way of advancing the interests of a country is to advance the language of that country. But that, of course, is relative. There is a policy which is better than that because it is easier to execute. I explain : Take for instance the case of Denmark. The best way of advancing the interests of Denmark is to further the Danish language. But it is practically impossible to advance the Danish tongue. How can it be done ? Danish is spoken by few people, and it cannot spread. For instance, it would be impossible to get the United States to alter their tongue from English to Danish. Danish is confined within the limits of Denmark (about 15,000 square miles), and it is impossible to extend it beyond those confines. Therefore the only way, practically speaking, of advancing Danish interests is for the Danes to abandon their language and take up another. (I do not suggest this policy for Denmark, I am only taking Denmark as an illustration ; the country being a very small one, it is immaterial to the world at large what policy it pursues.) Although, say, it is impossible that the United States accept Danish, it is perfectly possible that Denmark accept English. And Denmark would gain enormously by so doing. Of course the United States (and England, &c.) would gain too, but Denmark would gain most. Compare the figures. At present Danish is spoken by about 3,000,000 people. The Danish field is thus 3,000,000. English is spoken by about 150,000,000. The English field is thus 150,000,000. If Denmark abandon Danish and take up English, her field becomes at once

153,000,000 (namely, 150,000,000 *plus* 3,000,000). And of course, the field of the United States (and England, &c.) become also 153,000,000. In other words the United States, &c., has added 3,000,000 to its field (I will coin a word and call it "field," meaning the total folk speaking one language), but Denmark has added 150,000,000 to her field. I have already explained in a previous chapter that a colony of a country is really a land speaking the same language as the said country. Therefore, the above really means that Denmark has really become possessed of a vast colonial empire (to wit, the United States, England, part of Canada, Australia, &c.), and of course the United States, &c., has added 15,000 square miles to its colonial empire, namely Denmark. There has been no change of flag, rule, government, laws, institutions, &c.; only the language has been changed. All the foregoing is put forward to prove this fact: there are and can only be two ways of acquiring a colony: (a) to convert another country to your language; or (b) to alter your language to that of another country. Thus the United States can be made a Danish colony in two ways: (a) by converting the language of the United States to Danish (this is manifestly impracticable); or (b) by altering the language of Denmark to that of the United States (this is easily practicable). In the above example I have discussed Denmark, but the same applies, change ought, to every land under the sun. This brings me to a consideration of the word "Conquest." This word often means "To bring under the flag or rule of, to annex." England conquered the Boers; Turkey conquered Macedonia, &c. I ask: What good does it do one country to conquer another? And I reply to my own question: No good at all. Let me give an example in illustration of my meaning. Suppose Holland go to war with Russia, and by some fluke overthrow the Russian forces annex the whole of the

Russian Empire to Holland, and hoist the Dutch flag over the whole country. That would be called, the conquest of Russia by Holland. But what good would that do Holland? No good at all. The Dutch flag would deck Moscow, it is true. But take a Dutchman and drop him in Moscow. He sees the Dutch flag and rule there, but all round him he hears nothing but the Russian tongue, of which he does not understand a word. What good is the Dutch flag to him? It doesn't enable him to talk to the people around him, it doesn't help him to read a Russian paper. In short, our Dutchman finds himself as little at home in Moscow, *under the Dutch flag*, as he would be in, say, Madrid, *not under the Dutch flag*. The truth is that the conquest and annexation of any country is not worth twopence. Holland may overthrow a vast country like Russia, yet she will get no benefit from it. But there are two ways in which Holland *could* derive immense benefit from Russia, and in neither of them does flag, rule, annexation, &c., play any part whatever. They are (*a*) to change the language of Russia to Dutch (impracticable); or (*b*) to change the tongue of Holland to Russian (perfectly possible). Or in other words: to cause Holland and Russia to speak the same tongue, whether that tongue be Russian or Dutch (or anything else). Holland would gain enormously, and Russia would also gain, but of course much less than Holland. Now drop your Dutchman in Moscow. He does not find the Dutch flag there, but he finds something a thousand times more satisfactory, namely, his own language. That is far more valuable to him than the usual empty or "sham conquest"; it is a conquest worth having, a "true conquest." It is impossible for a weak country to "sham-conquer" a big country (and if through some fluke it managed to do so, it would derive no benefit), but it is perfectly possible for the weakest, tiniest, most insignificant little country

to "true-conquer" the vastest, the most gigantic empire, and not only to do it, but to draw immense benefit from doing it, a benefit which the latter country would share, though, of course, in much lesser proportion.

There is another thing to be considered in the relations of small lands and big ones. I have said elsewhere that the only way for a small land to ensure that it do not get annexed by a bigger, is to adopt the language of that bigger. But another fact is to be noted about this. Not only does such adoption of language prevent the said bigger from annexing the smaller, it also prevents *other countries* from annexing the said smaller. Or to put it more plainly: The very best safeguard—in fact, the only—a small (or large) country can have is a far-spoken language. Why? Because same-tongueness causes identity of interest. For instance, Holland. Holland fears that her independence will some day be destroyed by Germany, and that she will be annexed to the German Empire. There are two ways to prevent that: (a) by Holland abandoning Dutch and adopting the German tongue; or (b) by Holland abandoning Dutch and adopting the tongue of some community powerful enough to hold Germany in check—for instance, England or Russia. If Holland spoke German, there would be no need for Germany to annex her; she would already be as German as it is possible to be, and she would find it to her interest—owing to same-tongueness—to help Germany in any way, and *vice versa*. If Holland adopt English, she would at once be of the English field, and the whole English field would support her by force of arms if needed, if she were threatened by Germany. If Holland spoke English it would not be to the interest of England and the United States to see her (representing the English tongue) overwhelmed by a not-English-speaking land. How can I say

that with certainty? Because countries are guided by their interests, and the interests of England and the United States are the interests of the English tongue. It is true that England and the United States (and all other countries) have often acted in defiance of their language, but that was because they knew no better, and it has always cost them dear. I have discussed this in a previous chapter, but I will return to it further on. And the English field is amply strong enough to hold Germany and the German field easily in check. But if Holland were to adopt Italian, say, it would do her no good. Why? Because Italy is not strong enough to prevent Germany from annexing Holland. If you adopt a language you must always adopt a "big" language, such as English; a "small" one is ineffective.

In 1864 there arose a dispute in connection with Schleswig-Holstein, which then formed part of Denmark. A party in England, of which the then Prime Minister was the head, was for intervention on behalf of Denmark against Prussia. The no-intervention party, however, won the tussle and Denmark was left to her fate, the result being that in the war which ensued Prussia gained the victory, and Schleswig-Holstein was annexed to Germany. My contention, briefly, is that if Denmark in 1864 had spoken English, the intervention party in England would have easily carried the day, and Schleswig-Holstein would to-day still form part of Denmark. In other words, Denmark lost Schleswig-Holstein because she did not speak English. I do not mean that the English Government of 1864 understood the supreme and sole importance of language and would have helped Denmark (supposing she had spoken English), in order to prevent a diminution of the English tongue. The English Government had no conception of such importance—witness the "Trent"

affair in 1861, when war-walk against the North States (English-speaking) was common. What I mean is this: relations of every sort between an English-speaking Denmark and England would have been so much closer than they actually were, and likewise the bulk of England would have so instinctively felt, without at all being able to explain or define the feeling, that it would be to her interest to back Denmark, that the intervention party would have prevailed. Its policy would have been put into effect, and as Prussia had then no mind for a war with England, Denmark would have retained her two provinces. The lesson of the above slight sketch of history is this: Always try and make allies, and get as powerful ones as you can. But there is only one way to get allies (and never has been any other), and that is, to secure that you and another community (or communities) speak the same tongue. In fact the correct definition of an ally is the same as that of a colony, namely: a folk who speak the same tongue as you do. I am aware the word ally is applied to different-speaking treaty-bound lands, but they are never really allies. For instance, France and England can never be really allies because they speak two different tongues. Their interests ever differ. I have dealt with this in a previous chapter. Among different-speakers it is always a case of friends to-day and foes to-morrow, and *vice versa*. In 1898 England and France were ready to fight, a little later it was all gush. But among same-speakers quite a different state of affairs prevails. They are always in alliance, in the very closest alliance that can be. There need be no treaty for it, it wants no official countenance. It is always their interest to help each other to further their common tongue. It is true that same-speakers have often fought. But they did so because they did not know their own true interests. What they did they did for the best, not knowing that

their action was really for the worst. It is the specific aim of this little book to set forth the policy (and interests) that *should have been pursued* (and should still be) as distinct from what *was* pursued, and thus to prevent a recurrence of wars between same-speakers.

Sometimes children eat the berries of the deadly nightshade and get poisoned. Why? Because they think they are good to eat, they think they are acting in their own interests in eating them. They do it for the best, not knowing that their action is exceedingly harmful and that the berries are poisonous. Democratic communities speaking the same tongue have fought each other for the same reason that children eat nightshade berries. As for undemocratic same-speaking communities, who have no voice in the control of their own affairs, who are entirely in the hands of irresponsible headmen, their case is only slightly different. They have engaged in war with each other because (*a*) their headmen *thought* that they were advancing the interests of their subjects by so doing (this is the same reason given above *re* nightshade berries); or (*b*) because their headmen wished to advance their own selfish ends and ambitions, giving no heed to the (supposed) interests of their subjects. The headmen could do this because, the community being uncommercialised, they could do as they liked.

CHAPTER XIV.

Is England's presence in India of any value to England or India? It cannot be denied that England has done for India very many things that India could not have done for herself. It is also true that England's withdrawal from India would be immediately followed by anarchy and chaos. The benefits of 150 years of order would be undone in as many weeks. India therefore has benefited largely by England's presence. She is not in the least grateful, however, and as years pass this ingratitude, or dissatisfaction, or chafing under alien rule—call it what you will—will grow in intensity and take more active forms. England does good in India, yet her presence is founded on the bayonet alone. Were India's millions able to do it, they would expel English rule without hesitation. These questions naturally rise to the lips: Why cannot India rid herself of English rule if she does not like it? And also: Why could not India govern herself quite as well as England does? Why must there needs be anarchy and desolation as soon as England's hand is withdrawn?

The question of India is the same as all other questions in which more than one community are concerned. England is in India for two reasons: (a) because England is a one-tongue country; and (b) because India is *not* a one-tongue land. Just suppose the conditions reversed. Suppose that England contained as many tongues as India does, and that India contained only one tongue, like England. (England is practically, though not entirely, one-tongue.) A many-tongue England would never be in India, because she would be too weak. The strength of

England (and of any other country) lies in one-tongue-ness. At the present moment India is weak and is easily held in subjection by England, because the Indians are not one but many; there is no unity among them, and the reason is that they speak several tongues. And also, they are not only disunited, they are bitterly hostile to each other. Take a dozen separate sticks. They are disunited but they are not hostile to each other. To get a picture of India (or any other many-tongue country) you must suppose each stick not only quite separate from its neighbours but ready and willing, in fact wishing, to do the said neighbours all the harm it can. Hence it is easy for England (or any other one-tongue land) to rule India. France could do it too, so could Germany, or Italy, or in fact any civilised country, provided always that such country were one-tongue. Why couldn't India rule herself? Because she is not one-tongue. It is an absolute impossibility for any country speaking more than one tongue to rule itself. Why? Let me give you an example. I suppose that half the population of England spoke English and the other half French. In those circumstances England could not rule herself, much less rule India or any other country. England would not be split into Liberal and Conservative, &c., but into English and French. Everything in the land would be split into two: schools, churches, shops, trades, books, theatres, newspapers, &c., &c. From cradle to grave there would be bitter and unceasing dissension. The interest of each half of the population would be diametrically and irreconcilably different: It would be like bird and fish. The bird can only live in the air and dies in the water, the fish can only live in the water and dies in the air. Parliament would likewise be split into two: the French section of the population would only elect French speakers, and English, English. There would be an unceasing duel between the two. Suppose that

Parliament numbered 500 members and that through some reason (say electoral anomalies) the French section had 260 members and the English 240. There would thus be a French majority of 20 members. The Government would be French, and it would naturally look after its own people. The English section would be exasperated. Suppose now that the English section get into power, then the French are exasperated. And so it would go on without ceasing. How long would it last? As long as there were two tongues. Kill one of the tongues; in other words, make the country one-tongue, and the moment you do that all dissension and hostility cease. The divergence of interest automatically disappears. In the above example I suppose two tongues. But it would be exactly the same, change ought, if there were three, four, five, six, seven, &c. tongues. Suppose there were ten tongues, what would happen? This: There would be a period of anarchy in which all the ten would be fighting each other. This period would last until one of the ten communities (tongues) acquired a decisive superiority (this superiority would be due to various causes: numbers, geographical position, emergence of a great military genius, &c., &c.) over the nine others. Not over the nine others combined, there is no such thing as combination among different-speakers, but over anyone of the nine taken separately. Then this superior community (tongue) would seize the supreme government, and the other nine would be subject communities to this one. In other words, there would happen exactly what has happened in India: one community (English) in supremacy, all the others in subjection to that one. I continue: The picture so far is this: one community (tongue) on top and nine (tongues) below. The community on top would only be able to maintain itself there by force of arms; all the other nine would hate it like poison, and would like to knock it down and take its place. But each of the other nine would

be unable to do that, because, though they hate the one on top, they hate each other exactly (neither more nor less) as much. Suppose that the one on top become weak through some reason or other, so weak that it is no longer able to keep itself on high by main force. What would happen? Another spell of fighting and anarchy among all ten, resulting in the original community being deposed and a fresh community grasping supremacy. The fresh community on top would be execrated by the nine beneath exactly as was its predecessor. In fact, no matter what mutations be effected, this will always be the result: one on top and nine beneath. The one on top will hate (and despise) the nine below, the nine beneath will hate (*a*) the one on top, and (*b*) each other, with equal virulence in all cases. But suppose that no one of the ten were strong enough to ride the others. What would happen then? The following: there would be a long bout of fighting among the ten, during which the ten would get rounded off—all the corners being knocked off; all the scattered units and straggling wisps of population of each of the ten would be exterminated. This would leave ten compact homogeneous lumps, each lump settled firmly in its own corner of territory. Boundaries would gradually be fixed between each lump, not without much fighting. Each lump would form its own government, and you would finally have ten independent kingdoms, or republics, as the case may be. The ten would, of course, hate each other as much as they ever did, but there would now not be *incessant* but *intermittent* fighting. In other words, these ten would now exhibit a picture of what Europe is to-day. This picture of what occurs under several tongues is not exact to the slightest detail; but the general outline is correct. It should also be read in the light of previous chapters of this book; as, for instance, when I say above that the hatred is always of equal virulence, I have

explained elsewhere why such hatreds are exactly equal.

An excellent exemplification of the above picture is found in Macedonia. I do not know how many or what tongues are spoken there, but I will suppose six, which I will call (I do not know whether such tongues exist) Turkish, Greek, Bulgar, Servian, Roumanian, Montenegrin. The position is exactly as described above. At present the one on top is Turkish, the other five being beneath. The Turks hate and despise the five beneath, the five beneath hate (*a*) the Turks (*b*) each other with exactly equal intensity. Depose the Turks and place, say, the Bulgars on top. Then you will have : the Bulgars hate and despise the five beneath, and the five beneath hate (*a*) the Bulgars and (*b*) each other, with equal intensity. And so on. It is always the same, no matter who is on top. And no one of the six is to blame more than another ; the hatred they bear each other is exactly equal. As a matter of actual fact, none of them are to blame at all ; they simply cannot help themselves, they have absolutely no voice whatever in the matter. They *must* hate and fight each other because they are of different tongues. Their interests are entirely different, and can never be reconciled as long as many-tongueness exists. Kill five of the six tongues (any five will do), or, in other words, make Macedonia a one-tongue land, and the strife will immediately vanish as if it had never been. Until that is done there can never be peace, either in Macedonia or anywhere else. The statement is continually made that the disorders in Macedonia are due to Turkish misrule. Nothing can be farther from the truth. The Turks have no more to do with the Macedonian troubles than they have with the earth's daily spin. Remove every Turk, and matters would not be bettered a jot. The only difference would be this : there would be one on top and four beneath, instead

of five beneath as previously. To cause trouble in any country all you need is *more than one* tongue. There may be two, or three, or four, or five, &c., &c. ; but two is enough to cause dissension and war. Again, we are continually being told that it is a case of a heathen nation (the Turks) oppressing Christians (Bulgars, &c.). That idea likewise is wrong from top to bottom. Folk do not cohere according to religion (or anything else), but solely according to language. Take a Catholic German and a Catholic Italian. They are both of exactly the same religion. But the first can only speak German, the second only Italian. The identity of religion is of no use whatever to them ; they can't understand each other, their interests are diametrically opposed : for the first, the German tongue is life ; for the second, death ; for the second, Italian is life ; for the first, death. But take, say, a Catholic German-speaker and a Mahometan German-speaker. Their religions are quite different, but their tongue the same. Their interests are identical. Compare that with the preceding case. The Irish are Catholics, yet in Canada they take sides *against* the Quebecers, who are also Catholics. Why ? Because the Irish speak English, and the Quebecers French. Religion (and anything else) has no influence whatever as a bond of unity ; the sole tie that can, has, does, or will exist, is same-tongueness. It is thus in Macedonia, and in every land that exists, or that ever has, or ever will. I have no information to that effect, but you will find that the communities in Macedonia cohere according to tongue, and nothing else. The Greeks would form a Greek-speaking Macedonia—they could not possibly form anything else, because they only speak Greek (I could not write a Chinese book because I don't know Chinese), but that would be hell to all the others—Bulgars, &c. The Bulgars would, of course, be forced to form a Bulgar-speaking Macedonia, and

that would be abomination to the Greeks and the rest. And so on. From all the foregoing I evolve the following immutable law : Communities speaking more than one tongue are incapable of self-government. To have law and order there must always be one community on top (and that community will always be one-tongue, otherwise it wouldn't be on top) : example, the English in India. All those underneath are always violently dissatisfied. That is the true cause and explanation of what is called "unrest in India." Suppose the Government in London could not speak English, but spoke, say, French (race, &c., being unchanged). Wouldn't there then be "unrest in England"? How long do you think an only-English-speaking England would tolerate a French-speaking Parliament in London? Not a single week. And India would not tolerate its English rulers for a week could it throw them off. It cannot do that because the English in India are stronger than any individual community (tongue) beneath. In order to have peace and quietness *the government of a country and the people governed must speak the same tongue.* And that, of course, is impossible in a many-tongued land.

England's connection with India is far from being all gain. India has dragged us into many small wars, and may yet drag us into large ones. And the English military power is largely framed with a view to Indian requirements. On the whole, however, England gains by India. And likewise India gains by England. But here is a point I wish to make : None of that gain is due to the English flag ; it is all due to the English language. Take an instance. There are in India many hundreds of Englishmen in good billets carrying on the government of the country. Give me power to issue an edict that, say, Turkish is to be the tongue of government. What would be the result ? Every European official in India, from the Viceroy down to the youngest official, would lose his billet.

And remember, I have not touched the English flag at all. The Viceroy, &c., all speak English ; they none of them know Turkish. Again, there is in India a flourishing English commercial community, supporting several English newspapers. Issue a decree that the language must be, say, Magyar. They would all be ruined in a flash. They know no Magyar, they only know English. In other words, the value of the English flag in India (or anywhere else) is *nil*, but the value of the English tongue is enormous. All England's gain has been attributed to the English flag. That is entirely wrong. The language should get the sole credit. And what, therefore, is England's interest in India ? She has only one interest there, the same that she has in every part of the world, namely, to extend the English language. This would be to the benefit of all concerned. The reason England can rule (a) herself and (b) India and various other countries, is that England is a one-tongue country. If India were a one-tongue country she could also rule (a) herself and (b) other lands. India could not rule herself at present because no country speaking more than one tongue, were it populated by nothing but geniuses, can rule itself. But give her one-tongueness, and she can rule herself as well as England rules herself. You cannot fly like a bird, because you have no wings ; but if you are given wings you could fly as well as any bird. The correct policy to follow is to kill all the languages of India—I believe they amount to a couple of dozen, or even more—and substitute for them one only : English. The change for the better that this would work is incalculable. For instance, the expansion of trade that would take place would be enormous. To give you an idea of what India really is at present I will transport Indian conditions to England. England at present is (practically) a one-tongue land. I will take India as having ten languages, ignoring the multitude of lesser tongues.

Imagine a ten-tongue England. Picture everything in England divided into ten. Yorkshire might speak one tongue, Lancashire another. London also might also be split into ten. Instead of having all the London newspapers published in one tongue, English, you would have some in this tongue, some in that, and so on. I need not go into further detail. And that is a picture of India. What would be the result of all this? England would be utterly ruined. Parliament would be split into ten parties. Each of the ten sections would hate all the others like poison. Within a few months there would be open anarchy. And there would be one of two outcomes: (a) the strongest tongue would climb on top and put all the others, more or less precariously, in subjection (example, Macedonia); or (b) the country would split into ten separate independent countries, each with its own tongue (example, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Russia, &c.). But kill nine of the ten tongues, leaving only one (any one will do), and at once all the turmoil subsides and England becomes as peaceful as before.

What England should do in India is this: Kill all the Indian tongues and put English in their stead. In course of time India would speak only English exactly as does England herself. In the meantime commercialisation would be proceeding apace. The country's resources would be developed in every direction, and it would be far richer than it is at present. Therefore, in the future these three conditions would be fulfilled: (a) India would be one tongue; (b) she would be fully commercialised; and (c) she would understand the law or axiom which it is one object of this present book to convey, namely: never damage those who speak the tongue you do, because your interests are identical, you are limbs of the same body. Whenever and wherever, without any exception, those three conditions are fulfilled,

war is utterly impossible. Therefore, war would be impossible in India, and it would govern itself as peaceably as does England, or France, or Germany, &c. You may say: "This policy may benefit India, but what about the interests of England?" I answer: "England's sole interest, in India or anywhere else, is the English tongue. At the present moment England gains a little from her presence in India, but even that little is entirely due to the English tongue. Increase the English tongue and you advance England's interests. The terms are synonymous. The present system in India is this: English flag and no English tongue. My policy is: Own flag and English tongue. Which of the two is the better policy? Apply these policies to, say, London. Which do you prefer for London: English flag and no English tongue, or Own flag and English tongue? The present state of affairs in India is of scarcely any value to England. Everywhere you find the English flag, but very seldom the English language. Out of a hundred inhabitants of India *only about one can speak English, the other ninety-nine do not.* Under my policy there will be eventually no English flag in India at all, *but out of a hundred inhabitants of India every one will speak English and English alone.* I throw the English flag overboard completely, but I uphold the English language to the last gasp." An objection which will be urged is this: "Even if the folk of India speak only one tongue, they will still be incapable of governing themselves. They are, by nature, inferior to the English." The answer is: "Even supposing the Indians be vastly inferior to the English, yet if the three above-mentioned conditions be fulfilled, they will still be able to govern themselves well and peaceably. A hawk is inferior to an eagle, but it can fly just as well, because it has the things necessary to flight: wings."

India could govern herself as well as England

governs herself if she were provided with the things necessary to good government: namely, the three conditions above mentioned. The art of government is a minor art; most of it is routine. Government is not a cause, but an effect. It is not the government that shapes the people, but the people who give shape to the government. A government is only the reflection of the governed, as a man's image in a mirror is only a reflection of the man himself. A government is a barometer. A barometer does not influence the weather, it is the weather that influences the barometer. You have only to look at the government of a country and you can at once find out what sort of country it is, and *vice versa*. For instance, a commercialised folk always have a government seeking to advance material interests, such as trade; an uncommercialised has a government more or less indifferent to trade, one whose aim is to advance the ends and ambitions, territorial, dynastic, &c., &c., of the irresponsibles in power. The well-known phrase, "Peoples have the governments they deserve," does not quite hit it off; rather should it be, "Peoples have the governments they beget." Whether the Indians are inferior to the English or not is quite beside the point. (Personally I believe they are inferior in a great many respects; the enervating climate, for instance, must have a weakening effect.) They are intelligent enough—if the three conditions obtain—to govern themselves. To govern yourself you only need to be intelligent enough (*a*) to understand that a certain policy will cause you heavy loss, and (*b*) to be determined not to allow that loss to be inflicted on you. The Parsee community in Bombay is thoroughly commercialised. It is a wealthy community. It is all for stable government, because any other would inflict savage losses on it. It is amply intelligent for (*a*) and (*b*) mentioned just above. You may object: "Look at

Hayti (French) and San Domingo (Spanish). They are one-tongue, and look at their government." The answer is: "The negro is very much inferior in intelligence to the Indian ; nevertheless the evidence points to the fact that even he, if the three conditions obtain, is capable of self-government. Hayti is not commercialised, hence a few irresponsible adventurers can do as they like. The bulk of the folk in Hayti are passive ; it is only the few who are active in creating disorder. Experience shows that the negro has a clear idea of the value of money and material advancement. The native labourers in the mines in South Africa are as keen on money as any other race ; in fact, as regards thrift, their savings compare, in proportion, very favourably with those of the white employees. Negroes who have anything to lose are not on the side of constant disorder. The misgovernment of Hayti is due to the fact that the country is not commercialised, *i.e.*, the bulk of the people have practically nothing to lose. They are, therefore, indifferent to revolutions ; and the few who are not, are, owing to circumstances, inarticulate. I do not say the negro is as intelligent as the white—very, very far, indeed, from it ; yet if every Haytian had, say, £10, and were certain that if a political row occurred he would lose it, he would be solid against any such row or disorder. Hayti is in, to a certain extent, the same position as England in, say, the thirteens or fourteens, during the Wars of the Roses. These wars were very similar to the revolutions in Hayti ; it did not matter a rap to the folk at large whether York or Lancaster won. If England had been articulate (commercialised) in those days she would have said she was heartily sick of both, and would have willingly knocked the pair of them on the head."

If India spoke only English she would soon become far more homogeneous than at present. Steam,

electricity, and oil would then be able to do their full share. They cannot at present. For instance, steam has brought Chicago and New York within twenty hours of each other. Other improvements or inventions may reduce the distance to fifteen or ten hours. But steam has not brought Paris nearer to London; it is as far as ever it was, namely, *the distance of a language*. Railways, &c., consolidate one-tongue communities, but they have no such effect on many-tongue lands. In fact, they do the exact reverse. They bring into contact communities (tongues) which but for them would never have come in touch with each other. And contact, in many-tonguedom, is synonymous with conflict. Every invention or improvement brings the parts of a one-tongue community closer together, knits them, but only sends further apart and causes more conflicts in the case of a community or communities of more than one tongue. There was never any war between Russia and Japan till the nineteens. Why? Because they had never come into contact with each other, through the absence of railways, &c. As soon as they did, as soon as they swelled till contact took place, then war. Railways, &c., have brought Marseilles closer to Paris in every way, but they have brought into easier play the hatred (due to different tongues) between Berlin and Paris. The war of 1870 wielded vaster bodies of men and cost more than previous ones. This was due to railways, &c. When communities speak different tongues, the less they have to do with each other the better. Steam, &c., brings them into contact and thus brings into play the hatred that ever exists between different-speakers. Steam does not create or intensify such hatred. The hatred never varies, never ceases, never lessens, never increases in any circumstances. But contact brings it into quicker play, and steam, &c., causes contact. You seldom hear of war between

Peru and Roumania, although they speak different tongues. Why? Because they do not come into contact. Put Roumania and Peru side by side or let them grow till they come in contact somewhere, and at once there is conflict.

An English-tongue India would be far more prosperous than the present one, and England would do a vaster trade with her than she does now. You may say, England at present can control the Indian tariff and thus ensure that it be not framed to her detriment. But England does a vast trade with countries over whose tariff she has no control. And in any case the game is not worth the candle. The extra gain obtained by such control is eaten up by the cost, direct and indirect, of exercising it. England does, on the whole, gain a little through India, but that little is entirely due to the slight infusion of the English tongue (less than 1 per cent.) in India. She would gain far more if she converted the whole of India to the English tongue.

To conclude: This is the policy that the writer, had he the power, would effect; that carries the most benefit. I would kill every tongue in India except English. When that was done I would give India her complete independence: A one-tongue India could govern herself, but a many-tongue country, be it India or any other, can never govern itself. It would be folly to give a many-tongue India her independence (unless given on the express condition, *under proper guarantee*, that all tongues save English be forthwith exterminated), but it would be equal folly to withhold independence from a one-tongue India, or from one which had pledged itself to kill all tongues but one and was carrying out that pledge. It is universally believed that there is something in the Eastern mind that the Westerner can never fathom, nor understand; that the Eastern and Western minds, views, &c., are eternally apart. There is no truth

whatever in that. The Indian, Chinaman, &c., is moved by exactly the same motive as the Westerner, namely, self-interest. There is nothing to understand about the Easterner—or anyone else for that matter. If you know—and they are ascertainable in five seconds—the motives that guide the man who lives next door to you, you know the motives of every Oriental, or anyone else, who has ever existed. I do not mean that the Indian and the European are equal; far from it. I express it curtly by saying that the Oriental, like everyone else, likes two shillings better than one. If you show me the Oriental community containing capitalists who prefer 3 per cent. interest on investments to 6 per cent.; workmen who go on strike to obtain less wages and longer hours; professional men who prefer small fees to large ones; employees who apply for reduction of salary instead of an increase—if you can do that, I shall begin to think I read matters wrong, and that there really is a difference between East and West. As a matter of fact, there is none. The Oriental and the Occidental are the same animal, and self-interest the sole motive power in every case. What has caused this idea about Orientals? Solely the difference of tongue. Take a territory of Indians who can speak English, *only English and nothing else*. You can soon fathom them. A book printed in Hindoo presents an awesome, unfathomable puzzle to me. But a book printed in English doesn't.

As a wind-up I will just ask you, What earthly use to England is a country of which more than 99 per cent. can't speak a word of English? What earthly use would London be to an Englishman if more than 99 per cent. of it couldn't speak English? And that is a picture of India to-day. The *binding* is excellent, but the *inside* is worthless.

CHAPTER XV.

ADMINISTRATORS of dependencies in every age and every country have always bewailed the ingratitude of subject races. And such ingratitude is a very evident fact. Take Egypt for instance ; England has performed great services for Egypt, and her only reward is rank, unreasoning ingratitude. No matter what you do for the Egyptians (or any others) you will get no thanks, much less affection. You could give them the last penny in your pocket, the very clothes off your back, work your fingers to the bone for them, beggar yourself in health and pocket for them, and in return for all that, if they got the chance they would massacre you to the last man. If it were not for force of arms, England could not remain in Egypt five minutes. The English administration of Egypt is universally considered a gigantic success ; in reality it is a dead, a colossal, failure. The English have done good work in Egypt, *but it is the wrong kind of work*. I go to an engineer and say : "Build me a conveyance to take me from Liverpool to New York." I go to him shortly afterwards and he produces a splendid locomotive, saying that everyone considers it one of the finest ever built. I then say : "I dare-say it is a splendid locomotive, but I can't get to New York on it. You've done splendid work *but it's the wrong sort of work*. What you should have done is to build me a ship." That illustration applies to Egypt.

If I, the writer, had controlled the English Government, my policy would have been totally different to that actually followed. I would not have re-organised the finances, nor established law and order, nor built

dams to impound the Nile waters, nor reduced the taxes, nor given security to life and property, nor established sanitation, nor uprooted epidemics, nor vastly increased the wealth and prosperity of the country, &c., &c. I would not have done any of these things. And why not? Because my aim would be to win the permanent gratitude and goodwill of the people, and that is not obtainable by any such improvements effected, any such benefits conferred. Were your reforms fifty times as beneficial as those enumerated, you would not get a particle of thanks; on the contrary. All these betterments render the folk free and articulate instead of dumb and downtrodden, and they use their new-found powers of expression to do what? To level at you the bitterest abuse, to exult at and increase your difficulties, to loudly call for your downfall. This attitude of mind is universal; there are never any exceptions (examples, Egypt, India, Philippines, Macedonia, Korea, Finland, &c., &c.) There are only two ways of obtaining the lasting gratitude, alliance, co-operation of any community, and they are: (a) to change your tongue to that of the said community, or (b) to change the tongue of the said community to yours. This, then, is what I would have done in Egypt: Killed all the local tongues and substituted English. When that was done, the Egyptians themselves would have carried out all the reforms I have mentioned: law and order, security for life and property, stable finances, irrigation, &c., &c. I quite agree that the Egyptians in 1882 could not have done those things, and that in 1908 they could not do them either. But then no country in the world situated as is Egypt could do them. England herself placed in the same conditions as Egypt could not. Egypt is a many-tongue country, and that explains everything. For that reason she cannot govern herself. England *can* because she *is not*

many-tongue. Compare the results of the two policies: (*a*) the one actually pursued by England since 1882, which has been greeted with such unanimous praise; and (*b*) the one I, the writer, would have pursued. (I am supposing that twenty-six years (1882—1908) are sufficient to change a country's tongue; in reality, longer would be needed.)

Under (*a*) an Englishman in Egypt finds about half a dozen languages, English is practically unknown. Of course, the born-in-England speak it; I except them; I refer to the others. I do not know the figures, but I should say that of 100 people in Egypt, 95 cannot speak English. And that is the true reason of their "ingratitude" to the English. All the good works of England are futile in the face of that fact: the vast majority of Egyptians speak no English. Egypt is therefore hostile to its English rulers and only waits an opportune moment to bayonet them. And Egypt is likewise valueless to England. An Englishman there finds English rule but he doesn't find the English tongue. He might as well be in the middle of, say, Constantinople; English rule is no earthly use to him, but the English tongue is. England has wrought great benefit, but she has only done it as a sort of magnified borough engineer, glorified sanitary inspector, &c., &c. She has done—very efficiently—the work undertaken by the average progressive town council at home. Suppose I go to some municipality in England, say, London. The City fathers call my attention to the excellence of the gas, water, trams, finances, sanitation, dust-removal, bye-laws, &c. I say: "Yes, I quite admit these arrangements are admirable. I notice, however, that your town (London) doesn't speak English, but a medley of other tongues." They reply: "Oh, we never bother about *that*. We spend all our efforts in securing good, stable government." I ask my readers: Would such a state of affairs in

London suit you ? Admirable government, but no English tongue. In other words, a splendid binding, but a rotten inside. What possible use to you is a London that can't speak English ? And that is a picture of the position in Egypt to-day.

Had the writer been in power in 1882 he would have pursued policy (b). To-day Egypt would be one-tongue. Go where you would you would find only the English tongue. And the country would be under its own flag and rule and governing itself as well as England could.

I do not say that law and order, solvency, sanitation, &c., are not worthy objects to strive for ; I say that they are an automatic effect. If you make a country one-tongue, disorder, &c., vanishes forthwith of itself. To cure an ill, remove the cause of that ill, and at once the ill disappears of its own accord. The policy of England (and every country) in Egypt (and everywhere else) is radically wrong. If I had had control, I would have confined my energy solely to one aim : to killing all the tongues and substituting English. The interests of an entirely independent English-speaking Egypt would be identical with those of England and the rest of the English fold. You would not need to maintain an English garrison in Egypt ; the Egyptians would support English policy through thick and thin, of their own accord, and would do so willingly. And likewise England would support them in every respect. I need not labour nor develop the point. And I may here mention the Ionian Islands. These islands were under the English flag and rule until about 1864, when they were handed over to Greece, to whom they still belong. Did England by so doing pursue the right policy ? No, she did not. What she should have done is this : (a) kill the local tongue and substitute English ; (b) when that was done, give the islands their total independence. And let me here mention another exceedingly important point.

It is this : *Every square mile of land put under your flag increases your responsibilities, foes and difficulties ; but every square mile put under your language gains you a permanent ally, a staunch friend, decreases your responsibilities and lessens your difficulties.* Never annex even an inch of earth, but strain every nerve to extend the area of your tongue.

I have already said that a country containing more than one tongue is incapable of self-government. This may require more explanation. You may say : "Switzerland disproves that assertion." The answer is : "There is really no such thing as Switzerland. One part of Switzerland is really part of France, a second section is really part of Germany, a third is really part of Italy. The fourth and final section (Romance-speakers) only number about 60,000 and is therefore insignificant. Likewise, the fact that Switzerland is under one flag does not make it united. If a Genevan goes to Basle or Lugano he is still under the Swiss flag, but he can't understand the tongue of Basle and Lugano for all that. Geneva speaks French ; Basle, German ; and Lugano, Italian. All the relations of the French-speaking Swiss are with France, not with the rest of Switzerland. And the same, change ought, as regards the Italian and German Swiss. Why then don't the Swiss quarrel seeing that they speak three languages ? Because of the pressure of the surrounding countries. Water naturally runs down-hill, but you can force it up. The Swiss cannot fight among themselves on account of that pressure. Suppose, for instance, that the German-speaking Swiss (they are the most numerous) were to start fighting the French- and Italian-speaking Swiss. The result would be that France would intervene on behalf of the French - speaking Swiss, and Italy for the Italian-speaking. And then Germany and part of Austria would take up the cudgels for the German-speaking section. In other words, the decision of any question

in Switzerland does not rest with the Swiss themselves, but with France, Germany, Austria, and Italy. Switzerland exists on sufferance, owing to the jealousy of the Powers, and on condition that she behave herself. The result of any row would be loss of independence, and partition. And the Swiss would not like that because independence (*a*) gives good and prominent billets to the native-born Swiss, and (*b*) gives them several advantages. For instance, the Swiss conscription is much lighter than the French, German and Italian. Again, the Swiss taxpayer pays no taxes for a navy. But if Switzerland were divided among France, Germany and Italy, the taxpayer living in Switzerland would have to pay his share towards the navy of one of those three countries."

Or take South Africa. The country is incapable of self-government. When the English are on top the Dutch are dissatisfied, and when the Dutch are on top the English are. You cannot please them both. Likewise, the English always vote English, the Dutch, Dutch. Thus if the majority of the population is English, the English are always in power; if the Dutch folk are in a majority, the Dutch are for ever in power. In a one-tongue country such as England you have Liberals in power after one General Election and then probably Conservatives in power the next or the one after. Each side gets an innings. You do not have the Liberals in power for ever or the Conservatives in office for ever. An elector may vote Whig at this election and Tory at the next. Such a thing constantly occurs. But that never occurs in a country with more than one tongue. In South Africa a man is not English at this election and Dutch at the next. If he is English, he is English at every election; if Dutch, he is Dutch at every election. A Whig can become a Tory in thirty seconds, but a grown-up Dutchman cannot become an Englishman in thirty years. If the Dutch are in

power in South Africa, they are in for eternity ; if the English get into power, they are in for ever. One side or the other is condemned to perpetual opposition. Only two things can alter that : (a) gerrymandering (which would have to proceed from some outside source), or (b) a large increase in the population of the opposition side (and those in power would do their utmost to prevent such increase). *Never since the Province of Quebec received self-government has the English party been in power.* And it never will as long as the majority speak French. The French party is in power for eternity, and the English party is condemned to perpetual opposition. (In the neighbouring Province of Ontario *exactly the reverse prevails.* *There the French are perpetually excluded from power,* and are always at a disadvantage in every way on account of their tongue.) Why is that ? Because the French-speakers are in a majority in Quebec, and they always vote on the French side. As I have said previously in this book, every door in Quebec bears above it two inscriptions : (1) No English-speakers need apply ; and (2) only French-speakers need apply. And that is in an English colony ! It is the same in South Africa, changing French for Dutch. And, change ought, it is the same in every many-tongue country in the world that ever has, does, or will exist. There is really no Canadian question, no South African question, no Macedonian question, &c., any more than there is Canadian arithmetic, South African algebra or Macedonian geometry. All these so-called different questions are really one and the same. The Quebec rising of 1837 ; Red River, 1870 ; France and Germany, 1870 ; Russia and Japan, 1904 ; South Africa, 1881, 1899, &c. ; Macedonian disturbances, &c., &c., are all one and the same thing. They are all due to the same cause—the presence of more than one language. I continue : In 1900 the Tory party in England obtained a majority of 130 at the General

Election. The bulk of the electorate voted for them. Supposing I had changed the tongue of that *bulk* to, say, Dutch (the *minority* of the electorate still speaking English). The result of that change would have been that the Tories (Dutch-speakers) would have got into power again in 1906 (instead of the Liberals), and not only that, the Tories would get in at every election for eternity. The Liberals (English-speakers) would be in opposition, not for a few years, *but for ever*. It is always assumed that South Africa is now at peace. Nothing can be farther from the truth. If it were *absolutely certain* that there could be no intervention or interference from oversea, South Africa would be in war again in a very short time. And in that war the Dutch (Dutch-speakers) would be victors because the English (English-speakers) in South Africa are—owing to circumstances, such as that of being chiefly concentrated in a few towns—too weak to hold their own without aid from outside sources.

The way out of all this is to make these countries one-tongue. If they will do it themselves, well and good; if they won't, then do it for them. I do not say this in order to make them a sort of hunting-ground for Englishmen. They would have absolute liberty, being entirely independent, to do what they liked either about Englishmen (if they wished they could treat them as were the United Empire Loyalists in 1783), or anything else.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE people of an empire seem to be always fearing it will "fall." Rome, &c., fell, and they fear they may do the same. I have already dealt with the fall of Rome. As regards the British Empire : The binding is good, but the inside is nearly worthless. Only one-seventh of the British Empire speaks English. What policy should be adopted as regards the British Empire? This: The flag should be entirely withdrawn (except from the British Isles) *and the language substituted*. I would do this: As regards Canada I would (a) Kill the French tongue in Quebec, thus making Canada all one tongue ; (b) Give Canada her entire independence, remove the English flag entirely, and let the country be another United States. As regards South Africa, I would do the same : (a) Kill the Dutch tongue ; (b) Give the whole country its independence. And the same, change ought, as regards India, Egypt, Australia, New Zealand, &c., &c. At present the British Empire is under one flag, but a dozen languages ; under my policy it would be under a dozen flags, but only one language. The present impression is that you gain by spreading the flag and rule. There is not one particle of truth in that idea. The exact contrary is the case. The more you spread your flag the more your difficulties increase. You gain absolutely nothing by governing other communities (but you do by changing their tongue to yours or yours to theirs); let them govern themselves. But to do that they must be one-tongue. Therefore make them one-tongue. It is true you at present gain a little by the British Empire. But not one jot, not one iota of that gain is due to your flag

or rule. It is all due to your language. For instance, trade does not follow the flag, it follows the language. I may call London the heart of England and the heart of the British Empire. The value of London is entirely due to the English tongue, not a fraction, not a shred is due to the English flag or rule. Remove the English language from London and London's value disappears like a lightning flash. You love London, its papers and books, its society, its theatres, its schools, its people, &c., &c. But remove the English tongue from it and at once it ceases to be London for you, it is no longer any use to you. Suppose I present you with a very handsome book, splendid binding, &c. You open it and find it is all printed in Sanscrit. Would you not say at once : "This is a very nice book, well bound, &c., but it's no earthly use to me. I can't read Sanscrit. The only books that are any use to me are those printed in English. Either give me an English book or give me none at all"? The English flag is one of the worst (if not the very worst) enemies England has got. And the national flag of any country is always one of the very worst enemies of that country. Up to the present it has—wrongly—diverted all efforts to itself; the cry has always been "Our flag" when it should have been "Our language." And secondly, the flag of a country always renders more difficult the spread of that country's language. People will accept the language but they won't the flag. Acceptance of the flag means loss of independence; acceptance of the language does not. England and the United States are entirely independent of each other, though they speak the same tongue.

CHAPTER XVII.

THROUGHOUT this book I have spoken as if I meant that difference of language is undesirable because it prevents people understanding each other. But I have only adopted that way of speaking because it makes things clearer. Everyone knows, for instance, that if an Englishman goes to France, he cannot understand the French, and they cannot understand him. But the real reason why difference of language is undesirable is, *not because it prevents intercommunication*, prevents them understanding each other, *but because it causes irreconcilability of interests*. These two things are quite distinct. The one is of no importance whatever ; everyone knows it ; it has been known for thousands of years ; the Tower of Babel fable is founded on it. But the second is of gigantic importance. For example, there are many millions of people in the United States and England who never communicate with each other, who are quite as ignorant of each other as are, say, Londoners and Parisians. The number of travellers between the United States and England is comparatively few ; the bulk of the folk are born, live, and die without leaving their own country. The average Stater and the average Englishman know nothing about each other, they do not inter-communicate. But their interests are not divergent. I know nothing about a good many men in this town (Kimberley, South Africa), and they know nothing about me. We never communicate with each other. But for all that our interests are not necessarily opposed. But suppose there are men whom I know very well and who know me very well. We are constantly

communicating with each other, we know each other like a book. But for some reason or other our interests are diametrically opposed. In such case, despite (in fact, on account of) our knowledge of each other, despite our constant inter-communication, we should be bitterly hostile to each other. You often see statements that this or that enterprise will promote good feeling between, say, England and France, by drawing them closer together, enabling them to know each other better, to understand each other's views, &c., &c. But where divergence of interests exists, no amount of drawing together, of mutual knowledge, &c., will cause friendship. The interests of temperance men and sellers of liquor are opposed. The more you bring them together the likelier they are to violently disagree; the more they know of each others' views, the more they dislike them and each other.

I think I am right in saying that the Boers know absolutely nothing of, say, the Chilians, and know a good deal about the English; yet they have never quarrelled with the Chilians, but have often fought the English. There has been far more intercourse between France and England than between any other foreign land and England. And also there has been more war between France and England than between any other foreign country and England. The German leaders of 1870 knew France and French well, but that did not prevent war. The same as regards the Japanese and Russians in 1904. And that leads up to another question. There have often been attempts to found a universal auxiliary language, to wit, a language which would not supersede, but supplement, the existing tongues. But such a scheme has a vast number of fatal objections. To begin with, as regards the purposes of this book, namely, the perpetual extinction of armaments and war, it would be wholly futile; what I insist on in this book is total

extinction of existing tongues, *that* only will be effective from the no-war standpoint. English in South Africa is very generally understood. Practically all the Boer leaders in 1899 spoke English, but that did not decrease their hatred. But if they had been able to speak *only English and nothing else*, there would have been no war. The same in Canada. Virtually all the Quebec leaders speak English, and speak it well too, but that does not lessen their enmity for English. But if they could not speak any other tongue but English, what a gigantic difference that would make in their attitude! The Quebec leaders speak both French and English, but their loyalty is to French for evident reasons; but if they could only speak English, their loyalty would all go to that tongue. Take two men. I will call them 1 and 2: they both speak English and nothing else. Take two others. I will call them 3 and 4: 3 speaks French and 4 German, but both know English. There is an enormous difference between the two first and the two second. 1 and 2 both give their loyalty to English, their interests are identical. But 3 gives his loyalty to French, and 4 to German. Their interests are opposed, and this quite irrespective of and notwithstanding that they can both inter-communicate by means of the tongue they have in common, English. Facility of inter-communication is set up (but even this only to a certain extent) by a universal auxiliary language, but identity of interest is only achieved by a single universal language that has killed all others and reigns in their stead. Besides, a common tongue, even for communication, is of much less value than is generally supposed. The immense bulk of the world would be little benefited by a universal auxiliary language. Tourists might find it a little useful, but there is very little difficulty even now for tourists. The above is the chief reason why any universal auxiliary language

should be discouraged. But there are many others. For instance, instead of decreasing the number of tongues, it adds one; then *it diminishes the spread of the big tongues such as English, Russian, German, &c.*; also—and this is a bad point—it increases the vitality of all the hundred-and-one little tongues. It is easy to imagine, say, a Servian welcoming such a tongue, *but for an Englishman or American to do so is simply folly.* It likewise attracts money and effort that would better be spent in advancing a big tongue. Again, a big tongue, say, English, already has 150,000,000 speakers, but a new tongue has none. And so forth.

CHAPTER XVIII.

It may be urged that Ireland falsifies the arguments of this book. You may say: "Ireland speaks English yet hates England." To begin with, there is a large population in Ireland—and in the past it was much larger—which speaks Erse. These Erse-speakers bear exactly the same relation to England as does a Frenchman, German, Russian, &c. Their loyalty is to Erse, not to English; they are really foreigners, as much as if they were, say, Italians. But there is also a large population in Ireland that can only speak English. These say they hate the English, and they—and the English too—really think they do. But such is not the case. In the war of 1899 in South Africa, the Irish (in Ireland) were pro-Boer. Why were they so? Because they knew no better. They were eating nightshade. Take the Irishman—whoever he may be—who was most vehement and violent in his hatred of England and love of the Boers in 1899. Suppose this Irishman were to go to South Africa, would he be found among the Boers? Not he. A few hours among the "loved" Boers would be enough for him; he would very soon be found among the "hated" English. Why? Simply and solely for one reason: that he cannot speak Dutch, but can English. There are in South Africa many Irishmen who breathe fire and slaughter against England (even the said fire and slaughter is breathed in the English language, not in Dutch), but they live among the English and very carefully abstain from making their home among the Boers. Why? Because they quickly realise that a population that only speaks Dutch cannot possibly offer them a

successful career, a pleasant living, or even a bare existence. And do you imagine the Irish in South Africa (or anywhere else) will fight to establish a Dutch-speaking State (or any not-English-speaking State), to wit, a State that would mean political, social and commercial death to them? No, never. Wherever the Irishman goes, fulminate he never so fiercely against England, he carries the English tongue, and every State he finds will be English-speaking. He cannot do anything else. (Of course, the Erse-speaking Irishman would found an Erse-speaking State; he thereby really does hate and damage England.) It is the same in Quebec (and everywhere else). The Irishman there also takes the part of England—whom he thinks he hates—against England's enemies—whom he thinks he loves,—the Quebecers. Why? Simply on account of the language. In the South African War of 1899, the Irish members in the English Parliament received with joy and enthusiasm the news of an English reverse. But their enthusiasm for the Boers would have undergone a very appreciable cooling if they had awakened one fine morning and found that Ireland had become, during the night, a Dutch-speaking country like the Transvaal. The Irish members only speak English (I except those who speak Erse); a Dutch-speaking Ireland is no use to them, nor they to a Dutch-speaking Ireland. Another thing that amused me during the war of 1899 was this: I often saw statements threatening that if England did not adopt a more conciliatory and benevolent policy she would make of South Africa "another Ireland." Personally, I only wish she would. And I also wish she could also make of France and Germany and Russia, &c., &c.—in fact, the whole world, "another Ireland." Ireland is a country of which four-fifths of the population speak only English. Do you now see why I wish not only

South Africa, but the whole world, were "another Ireland"?

But you may say: "Even if we concede all the foregoing, you must admit that there is continual disturbance in Ireland; for instance, in connection with the demand for Home Rule." The answer is that the Irish question, as Continental and other observers noted long ago, is really an economic question. The Irish want Home Rule not for itself, but because they think they will be better off under it. To the Irish politician (the politicians' interests are not always the same as those of the people) it means position and emolument; to the peasant, land. When a tradesman writes for a cheque, we know very well it is not the cheque he wants; he only wants it because he thinks he can exchange it for cash, if he could not he would never want it. If the Irish were absolutely certain that they would lose money by Home Rule, they would never elect a single Home Ruler; in fact, they would send a solid lump of members to Parliament to London to oppose Home Rule tooth and nail. The Irish agitation is directed not against England or the English, but against the landlords (who can, of course, be of any nationality), whose main support is the English Government. As I said above, in 1899 the Irish were frantically in favour of the Boers. But suppose that, by some magic transformation, all the landlords in Ireland became Boers. The Irish would then hate the Boer landlords as fervently as they hated their predecessors. They would hate one of their own number just as much if he were to become a landlord. But among the Erse-speaking Irish the matter takes on quite a different complexion. Here the conflict is really not between landlord and tenant, but between Erse-speaker and English-speaker. If there were no landlords at all, Erse-speakers and English-speakers would hate each other because they speak different tongues, and therefore their interest

were different. I have developed this in previous chapters.

The English-speaking "Irishman" therefore has never been really hostile to England (and never will be until his language be changed), but the Erse-speaker has always been truly hostile to England and the English fold, and always will be so until his tongue be changed to English. As regards the question of independence for Ireland, the real point to be decided is this: Would the independence of Ireland increase or decrease the English tongue? If the former, let Ireland have her independence by all means; if the latter, never. It is often stated that an independent Ireland would be an enemy on England's flank; that it would create another hostile power to England, and would eventually necessitate re-conquest, &c. None of all that is true. An independent Ireland (or any other country) cannot be an enemy of England as long as it speaks English. (If it speaks Erse, however, it would be.) The cases of Norway and Sweden, Hungary and Austria, are sometimes cited. But those countries speak different tongues; that is the true cause of their mutual hostility, which is just as great when they are under one flag as when under two. Also, in Ireland the landlord-tenant squabble is a local squabble; it concerns the landlord and the tenant, but has very little interest for the rest of the English fold. And likewise Ireland is a very unimportant place; its total area only being about 32,000 square miles. Should, then, Ireland be independent? Or, what amounts to the same thing: Would Irish independence increase or decrease the English tongue? I certainly think that the independence of Ireland would decrease the English tongue, and should therefore never be granted. The following are my reasons. There is already under the present system a large Erse-speaking population in Ireland. Erse would probably

be more vigorous still under independence than under union with England. And also an independent Ireland would probably adopt this attitude (and would be able to adopt it) : " You pull the chestnuts out of the fire, and I will help to eat them." She would do what Pennsylvania did during the Indian raids on the frontiers of the thirteen Colonies in about the middle of the seventeens. The Indians used to raid the frontiers of New York and do great damage. New York asked Pennsylvania's help in definitely defeating the Indian tribes, but the latter refused, knowing full well that New York, in self-defence, would be forced to keep the Indians in check. Pennsylvania's frontiers therefore enjoyed security without expense. Or rather, their security was obtained at the expense of New York. New York paid all the expense of keeping back the Indians, and Pennsylvania benefited without paying her share. (It was only later that Pennsylvania was forced into the fight by the victorious Indians devastating her frontiers.) You would see the same in the case of an independent Ireland. She, for instance, would probably refuse to contribute to any scheme, if such a scheme were mooted, for advancing the English tongue, knowing that she could secure equal advantages without contributing. Suppose I and another man want a certain book translated into English. It will cost £100. I ask the other man to contribute. He refuses. I therefore have to pay all the £100 myself. But when the translation is finished, the other man gets the benefit of it just as much as I do, although I have paid £100 to get it done, and he has paid nothing at all. " But," you may say, " you urge that India, Egypt, South Africa, Canada, Australia, be first English-tongued, and then given their total independence. Why not do the same for Ireland ? " The reply is this : " All the said countries are centres in themselves for spreading the English tongue. Ireland

is not. It is *part* of a centre—the British Isles. The British Isles are the sole European centre for the spread of the English tongue. If you put one part (Ireland) of the said isles under one flag, and the other under another, you do not increase the spreading power in the least; on the contrary, as I have just shown, you lessen it. If you could shift Ireland into, say, the Mediterranean, it would be quite different. Ireland would then be a spreading-centre by herself. But an independent Ireland standing near England as at present, would not be a spreading-centre at all. She would (*a*) be of no use in spreading the English tongue by herself; and (*b*) would weaken, as explained above, England's capacity of spreading it. If, however, it were proved that Irish independence would increase the spread of the English tongue, then it should be granted at once." As a matter of fact—though this is not important to the matter under discussion—there never was any real demand in Ireland for independence. The real cry in Ireland (and everywhere else) is not "Give us independence," but "Give us money." Communities (I exclude the politicians, of course) in reality care nothing for "freedom" and "independence." What they want is money. Take present-day Russia, for instance. We are told the Russian peasant pines for "liberty," for "representative institutions," "constitutional government," &c., &c. But such is not the truth. What he really pines for is money. The "Irish" question is not difficult of solution; it is only a question of money. How does it happen, then, that Ireland has always been so restless? Because (*a*) a large number have always been not-English-speaking; and (*b*) it has always been a poor and, almost exclusively, a "tenant" nation, and had thus much to gain by agitation against landlords, &c. And such agitation was always easy to set afoot by reason of the said other-tongueness and concentration of poverty and

tenantness. What should be done at once in Ireland is this : Kill the Erse language entirely. As regards the landlord-tenant squabble, that does not affect the English language, and it is of very minor importance. It is of the same nature as strikes and lock-outs in industrial matters, namely, a question of getting money on one side and losing it on the other.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE fiscal question is usually very much to the fore in all countries. Take Free Trade and Protection. One side brings arguments to prove that Free Trade is the best policy, and the other, that Protection is the most desirable. But I will leave partisan arguments completely out of the question. Either Free Trade is the right policy or it is not. A thing is either a yard long or else it isn't. Either two and two make four or else they don't. If one party says Protection is right and the other says it isn't, one of the two must be wrong. It can't be both right and wrong at the same time. In the following argument I take England as a type, but everything here said applies, change ought, with equal force to all countries. Which policy, then, is right : Free Trade, Protection, or Preference (this last meaning preferential duties between the various countries of the British Empire) ? The answer is : All three are wrong. None of these three policies is advantageous to England (or anyone else); they are all harmful to her interests. And why ? Let me examine the matter. The Free Trader says that it is your interest to always buy in the cheapest market. If England can only produce wheat at 40s. a quarter, whereas some other country can grow it at 30s., then, says Free Trade, buy your wheat off the 30s. country. The Protectionist contends that by allowing the free import of foreign wheat into England you ruin the English wheat farmer and those dependent on him, though it is true the rest of folk get their wheat a bit cheaper. The Preferencer wishes to admit colonial wheat free and tax foreign wheat. In the abstract, and without having regard

to the circumstances in which the world is at present situated, Free Trade is the best policy. It really means using, to do a certain thing, the tools best adapted for that purpose. Everyone, therefore, is to a large extent a Free Trader. You employ a carpenter to do woodwork because he can do it best and cheapest, but a blacksmith for metal work. When you are ill you call a doctor, not a lawyer; but in a legal matter you consult a solicitor, not a surgeon. In the same way it is better to use, to grow wheat, soil that produces at 30s. a quarter than soil that runs to 40s. a quarter. It would therefore seem that it is the best policy to buy in the cheapest market. But such is not—in present circumstances—the case. It is often much cheaper to buy stuff at, say, 40s. than 30s. What is the explanation of this seeming contradiction? It is this: Always support those who speak the same tongue as you do. It is cheaper to buy from same-speakers at a higher price than from different-speakers at a lower. Therefore Free Trade is wrong. It makes no distinction of language. It admits, say, wheat from Roumania (Roumanian-speaking wheat) duty free, and thus places it on the same footing as English (English-speaking) wheat. And Protection is wrong too. It places duties on goods irrespective of language. It would place the same duty on United States (English-speaking) goods as on French (French-speaking) goods. And Imperial Preference is also wrong. It would give preference to Quebec (French-speaking) and exclude the United States (English-speaking). If all these policies are wrong, what is right then? The right policy is this: Free Trade or Preference within your language, but Protection against all other languages. Take wheat, for instance. England at present admits all wheat duty free. She should alter that as follows: *Admit wheat from all English-speaking lands duty free, but tax heavily all wheat from lands that do not speak English.* In

other words, wheat from Australia, New Zealand, the United States, part of Canada (the English-speaking part), part of South Africa (the English-speaking part), would come in free, but wheat from Quebec, India, part of South Africa (the Dutch-speaking part), France, Germany, Russia, &c., &c., would be heavily taxed. *Always help your language.* It always pays you to. It is always cheaper in the long run to, even if at first blush you seem to be paying dearer for goods than you need. Let me give an instance that will bring the matter clearly home. Suppose that London is about to place a contract for a year's supply of wheat. Two countries tender. One tenders at £10,000,000 and the other £15,000,000. London is just going to accept the £10,000,000 tender when I intervene. I say to London : " You can accept the £10,000,000 tender if you like, but the moment you do so I change the language of half the folk of London from English to German. If you take the £15,000,000 tender, however, the language will remain unchanged." Which of the two tenders do you think London will accept ? If you accept the £10,000,000 you will save £5,000,000, but half of London will at once speak a foreign tongue ; if you take the £15,000,000 you will pay £5,000,000 more, but London will remain entirely English-speaking. Isn't it evident that it's far cheaper to accept the £15,000,000 tender. Isn't it well worth £5,000,000 to keep London entirely English-speaking ? By accepting the first tender you would be penny wise and pound foolish. You would save £5,000,000 in one direction, but you would lose fifty times as much in another.

Therefore what England should do is to build up English-speaking nations across the sea. And to that end she should use the tariff as a tool. I will suppose that England spends £50,000,000 a year for wheat among the Argentine, Roumania, Russia and other

not-English-speaking lands. She should divert that £50,000,000 to the United States, Australia, and other English-speaking lands. You may say : "That's very like the programme of the Imperial Preference folk." It isn't. *They* consider the United States a foreign country. *I* don't. *They* call Quebec an English colony. *I* don't. *They* admit India to preference because it is under the English flag. *I* don't, because it doesn't speak English. To continue : England should divert all the trade she can *from* countries that don't speak English *to* countries that do. *The language alone* should give direction to the stream, not the flag nor anything else. For instance, according to the Board of Trade Returns, 1904, England imported £51,000,000 from France and exported £21,000,000 to France, a difference of £30,000,000. This should not be. England should bring her imports from and exports to, France, to the same figure, or else bring the imports *below* the exports. She should tax French goods heavily until the importations of French goods are only, say, £21,000,000. The other £30,000,000 (difference between £51,000,000 and £21,000,000) should be diverted to the United States, Australia, and other English-speaking lands. You may say : "France would resent it and retaliate." I reply : "How? She can't. She is powerless. You buy £21,000,000 off her, and she buys £21,000,000 off you; you are equal." It is, of course, not absolutely necessary that the imports and exports to, say, France balance exactly in order to prevent hostile action. English exports *to* France could be greater than the imports *from*, without France being able to retaliate, because she imports raw material (coal) from England. Also, France should not be considered separately, but only as a part of the not-English field. The countries which speak English should be considered as one whole, and all those who don't as another whole. You may say : "The trade between England and the

United States shows the same state of affairs as between England and France, namely, imports from United States very large ($\text{£}119,000,000$ in 1904); exports to, very small in comparison ($\text{£}39,000,000$ in 1904). The difference is thus no less than $\text{£}80,000,000$ in favour of the United States." I answer: "That is all right, because the United States is an English-speaking land. There is no disadvantage for England in having imports much larger than exports, *provided always that the difference be as much as possible in favour of English-speaking countries.*" The statement is often made that England exporting much less than she imports is a disadvantage to her. That is not the case at all. The richest lands are those that import most. The richest towns are those that import much and export little. A rich man is really a man who imports much and exports nothing, or at least nothing visible or tangible. There is no objection, therefore, on the score of England's interests, to her vast importations. The objection I make is this: *that so much of these imports is from countries which do not speak English.* That state of affairs is of very serious detriment. England should only import from not-English-speaking lands, in lump, as much as she exports to them, in lump. I do not say reduce your trade with foreign countries. On the contrary, increase it as much you can—double it, treble it, &c., &c., if you can. But what I do say is this: whatever the figure of your trade may be, never let your imports from foreign countries exceed your exports to foreign countries, except under necessity or compulsion of some sort. For instance, if your *exports to France and other similar lands* be $\text{£}100,000,000$, never, if possible, let your *imports from France and other such lands* exceed $\text{£}100,000,000$, but if possible let them be *less than* that figure. *Less, if you like, but seldom more.* I explain my meaning as follows: England has, I will suppose, $\text{£}800,000,000$ per annum spendable in oversea trade.

Of that sum £600,000,000, say, is derived from sales of goods to oversea customers, and £200,000,000 is drawn from dividends on oversea investments. How should England spend that £800,000,000 to her best advantage? or, in other words, how should she distribute her imports? The £600,000,000 she will have to spend among her oversea customers, because if she doesn't they will refuse to buy from her any more. But the £200,000,000 England can spend as she likes; she should therefore spend it entirely among the English-speaking lands, such as the United States, Australia, &c. Suppose I am a tradesman running a shop. My total gross income is as follows: From sale of goods £800, from dividends on investments £200, total £1,000. I am not free to spend the £800 as I like. Why? Because my customers can and will say: "We've bought your goods during the year, you must buy ours. If you don't you'll lose our custom, we'll deal elsewhere." And I must conform to their wishes, because if I refuse to buy their goods, they'll refuse to buy mine, and I shall therefore lose the £800 a year. Trade is really an exchange. But my customers will have no control over the £200 dividends in investments. That £200 I can spend where I like. Even the people from whom I draw the said dividends cannot say to me: "If you don't spend this money among us, we'll not pay it you." They *must* pay me my dividend or else their credit falls to ruin.

It is true that England gains a good deal each year from the earnings of her merchant shipping. How should she spend such earnings? She should spend as much of them among her foreign-speaking customers as is necessary to retain their custom, but should spend all the balance in English-speaking lands. The result of the policy I here advocate would be speedily evident. Immense sums which now go into the pockets of foreign-speakers would be

transferred to English-speakers with the double result that (a) foreign-speakers would be weaker and (b) English-speakers much stronger. To recapitulate: No policy, be it military, naval, commercial, political, social, fiscal or anything else, can conduce to the interests of any country unless it be framed solely in the interest of people who speak the tongue of that country. And it therefore follows that all the fiscal systems in vogue at present, or which have been used in the past, are wrong. This does not apply to England only, but to every country. Take, for instance, France, a Protectionist country. She does not discriminate in favour of Quebec (French-speaking), nor of part of Belgium, and part of Switzerland (both French-speaking). But she does give preference (I believe) in her market to Annam, Madagascar, &c., which are not French-speaking. To put it shortly: the fiscal systems of the world are framed solely on the flag basis. That is hopelessly and entirely wrong. They should be framed solely on the basis of language. As I have said again and again in the pages of this book: do everything you can to help and increase your language, and with that end in view use fiscal systems and everything else as tools. I do not put this forward as simply my private opinion; I advance it as a plain statement of fact, unchangeable by any opinion whatsoever.

The various English colonies and the United States already have Protectionist tariffs, vested interests have therefore arisen; they would probably, therefore, not consent to Free Trade within the language. There is no absolute necessity for it. What is really necessary is Preference for the language as against the foreign-speaker. If you have a sum of money to expend, spend it, if possible, among those who speak your language even if they charge more for the goods. If the system I herein advocate were put in

force, the English trade returns would wear a very different aspect to what they do at present. *Domestic trade* is trade between countries speaking the same tongue ; *foreign trade* that between lands speaking different tongues.

CHAPTER XX.

THE European country of most importance is Russia. During the last half-century Russia has been largely unhappy in her domestic affairs and unlucky in her foreign. In 1854 she suffered a check in the Crimean campaign; in 1877 the Turkish War imposed heavy and to some extent futile sacrifices on her; in 1904 her Far East policy met with disaster. The question that arises is this: Why was Russia beaten in these various wars? The obvious answer is: Because she wasn't strong enough to win. But why wasn't she? One thing to be noted is that in all three of the above wars England was either actively or indirectly in the field against Russia. Suppose that England, instead of being hostile to Russia, had been on Russia's side. It is safe to say that in such case the issue of the said campaigns would have been very different. Russia lacked powerful allies; if England had been her ally she would have won all three wars. In 1904 the United States was also hostile to Russia. Throughout this book it has been my aim to prove that if two countries speak different tongues they are bound to be hostile to each other. The intensity of such latent hostility never varies in any case, it always remains at the same, but its manifestations happen according to circumstances. As Russia and England spoke different tongues they were bound to be hostile, and as they came in contact with each other in the Near, Middle and Far Easts, the hostility was certain to burst into flame. It did so in 1854, 1877, and 1904. Of course it was just as strong between those dates, but then it smouldered. Russia therefore lost

in the three wars because she and England spoke different tongues. Had Russia spoken English (or, of course, England and the United States, Russian) she would have won and won easily all these three wars or practically any war she cared to undertake. Her policy would have been everywhere triumphant. For instance, in 1877 it was virtually a case of Russia against Turkey and England. But had Russia spoken English it would have been Russia and England against Turkey. You may deny this. Let me put it before you as follows: Suppose in 1877 Russia had addressed England and the United States as follows: "It is my intention to annex the whole of the Turkish Empire. But I also intend to extinguish all the languages at present existing there and to substitute English. Throughout the length and breadth of the territories now called the Turkish Empire there will be solely one language, English. Constantinople will be an English-speaking town exactly like London or New York. To accomplish this I want not merely your neutrality, but your utmost help of every kind." (I do not say that if Russia had been an English-speaking land in 1877 she *would* have spoken thus; I say *if* she had spoken thus). Had Russia spoken thus, is it not evident that England and the United States could not possibly do better than help Russia to the utmost of their power? Exactly the same, change ought, applies of course to Russia, England, the United States, Manchuria and Japan in 1904. It amounts to this, then, that Russia has been beaten because she is not an English-speaking country. Were Russia an English-speaking land there is absolutely nothing that could prevent her from carrying to success almost any policy. It would really be not Russia alone, but Russia *plus* England *plus* the United States. Practically no power on earth could withstand that combination. If these three countries

all spoke English their interests would be identical, namely, to extend the English tongue. England and the United States wouldn't fight for the Russian flag in itself, *but they would fight for the Russian flag if it carried with it the English language.* You may ask: "In such case, what about India?" I reply, there would be nothing about India. There would be no need to defend it against Russia, because if Russia spoke English she would already "possess" India just as much as England does. As I have previously explained, it is solely because the English language exists in India (although only to a very limited extent) that England derives any benefit whatever from her "possession" of that vast dependency. Remove the English tongue from India and England's interests vanish with it. If Russia spoke English, India (or rather, such of India as spoke English) would be common to both England and Russia. There would be no question of "taking" or "defending" India. You can't "take" what is yours already.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF late years the history of China has been somewhat chequered. In 1894 there was the defeat by Japan, and then the war of 1904. China has often been likened to a carcase round which the vultures gather. On the map China is shown as a united country. But there is only a certain quantity of unity about it; it is not fully united. A man from North China cannot understand one from South China. A man from North China, as far as *speaking* is concerned, feels as much at home in South China as a Londoner does in Madrid. The one sign of unity is the ideographic character of the written language which enables it to be read throughout China even when the spoken language is unintelligible. The Japanese can also read the Chinese script, but cannot understand or be understood by word of mouth. What does China require to develop her resources and to maintain the integrity of her territory? You reply: "Railways, education, electricity, &c." These things are certainly good, but they are secondary. They follow as the natural consequence of something else. As I have said previously somewhere in this book, what a country requires before everything else is (*a*) unity of language, and (*b*) a language which is a far-spread one and is spoken by a vigorous and intelligent population abroad. Therefore, to bring herself abreast of the times and also to ensure the preservation of her territorial integrity, China should discard her present cumbrous combination of *one* written language—itself of wondrous clumsiness—and twenty spoken languages, and adopt English instead. A China speaking only English but under

exactly the same rule as now, would be a very different China from the present one. Language is the great vehicle for the promotion of ideas, and if China spoke only English she would absorb in ten years more Western ideas than she would otherwise in a far longer period. In the West an example of transmission of ideas may be cited. Railways originated in England, the Stockton and Darlington line starting in about 1825, the Manchester and Liverpool in 1830. Although the European Continent is so near England, the first railway on the Continent was only opened in 1838, whereas the first locomotive imported into the United States was in 1829. Even such an invention as the railway took about ten years to cross the Channel, but took far less to cross the Atlantic, though the latter is far broader than the former. Why this difference? Because the United States spoke the same tongue as the land where the railways originated, and the Continent did not.

What I have said about China applies of course with equal force to Japan. Japan is already Westernised to a great extent, but that would have happened far sooner if she had spoken English. Japan has found—to a limited extent, and only through hostility to Russia—allies in the United States and England; but that is not because these love Japan, but because they wish to see Russia's power reduced. If Japan spoke English, there would be an unlimited and permanent natural alliance between her and the United States and England. I do not say the Japanese and English and American races would amalgamate, but if all three spoke English they would always support each other, because if any one advanced it would mean an advance for the common tongue; if any one retrograded, it would be a set-back for the common tongue.

CHAPTER XXII.

IT may be objected : " You assert that folk who speak the same tongue always support each other. But that is contrary to the known facts : there have been many cases where they didn't." I have already dealt with this objection to a certain extent, but I will here revert to it. In 1899, &c., the American (U.S.) Press and people were violently hostile to England and friendly to the Boers. Why was that? Doesn't it seem to bear out the objection mentioned above? No, it doesn't in the slightest. The American Press, &c., took the attitude they did because they didn't know their country's and their own interests. Suppose the said papers had come out with leaders saying that their own editors and proprietors had quarrelled with their own faces, and were therefore going to cut off their own noses to spite their own faces. Wouldn't the American public have said that their proprietors and editors were mad? But that was really what the American Press was doing. It was taking the part of enemies of the English language (the Boers only spoke Dutch) against friends of the English language (the English only spoke English). In other words, the American Press and people were *really doing their best to reduce their own language*. Of course they *thought* they were acting in their own interests, just as children eat the deadly nightshade berries, not knowing they are poisonous. They were what I will call " nightshaders."

Suppose I, the writer (having the power) had said to the American Press in 1899 : " Do you support the

Boers and wish to see them win the war." Chorus of proprietors and editors: "We do." The writer: "If that's the case, publish your papers henceforth in Dutch." I need say no more; you can imagine the rest.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE causes of armaments and war—as set forth and explained in the preceding chapters—are as follows :—

i. Between peoples speaking the same tongue :

(a) The mistaken idea that there can be either loss or gain in such wars. Example: The idea that England "*lost*" the American Colonies in 1776. Such wars are like the same man's right arm fighting his left. Whichever of the two arms wins or loses the man himself never gets any further. There is never either winner or loser. It is the specific aim of this present book to set forth and explain this truth, and thus render impossible such wars in the future.

(b) The ableness in uncommercialised communities of those in power to make wars for their own private reasons—dynastic, &c. Example, the Wars of Religion in France in the fifteens; the Wars of the Roses in England in the fourteens. This reason applies mainly to past wars and is no longer of importance, because uncommercialised communities now scarcely exist, and soon will be entirely extinct. Steam and electrical and other inventions are extinguishing them. In a commercialised community a potentate can no longer make war at his private whim—to advance his dynasty, for instance; his people will not allow it,

because they can gain nothing by it. Who pays the piper calls the tune in commercialised lands ; it was not so in the uncommercialised lands of the past.

2. Between peoples speaking different tongues :

The irreconcilable clash of interests caused by difference of language. In these wars there is always loss and gain. Such wars are like *two different men* fighting each other. One of the two is bound to win or lose. In theory there may be a draw, but in reality such can never be the case because the suffering mutually inflicted is never *exactly* equal ; one always suffers, be it only a little, more than the other. Even supposing that a draw takes place, other combats would eventually produce a winner and a loser.

It is evident that Cause 1 (a) can be dispelled. (It is the aim of this book to dispel it.) Cause 1 (b) is being extinguished by the spread of invention, and will soon cease to exist. There remains Cause 2, which is practically the sole cause of war.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ANOTHER objection which may raised : "Admitting that difference of language is the cause of war, it is practically impossible to secure unity of tongue and thus the abolition of war among the nations of the earth. For instance, France, Germany, Italy, &c., will not consent to abandon their language." The reply is : "There is no need for France, Germany, &c., to abandon their tongues. The matter can be decided without their intervention. It is a great mistake to imagine that West Europe is the decisive factor in the case. Quite the reverse. Let West Europe stick to its present tongues if it wishes. The only European country of supreme importance is Russia. (England is of no importance apart from the United States.) The other European countries (West Europe) may be left aside altogether. The combined area of Portugal, Spain, France, Germany, Italy, Austria, &c., is only a little over 1,000,000 square miles, whereas the total land surface of the globe is over 40,000,000 square miles. West Europe is therefore only, roughly, about one-thirtieth of the world. Therefore the great thing is to devote attention to twenty-nine thirtieths of the world and to leave the other one-thirtieth (West Europe) to its own devices. I thus narrow the field to the four or five following countries : the territories called the British Empire, the Russian Empire, China, the United States, and South America. It is perfectly possible to cause the above five countries to speak one tongue, and if that be done it means that about four-fifths of the world will be monoglot. What the other one-fifth then does will be immaterial.

Throughout this book I have spoken of English as being the language which should prevail. But why English? Why not some other? The reason is that English offers advantages which no other tongue possesses. It is at the present moment the most far-spread of all tongues, it is spoken by about 150,000,000 people. It likewise has several centres from which to spread: England, North America, Australia, South Africa. Likewise, if the above 150,000,000 people adopt the policy advocated in this book they can very soon extend their numbers. In other words, if the English-speakers of the world put forth their full strength with the sole object of extending their language—as they should do—they can soon achieve that object. For instance, they could soon kill the French tongue in Quebec. (Not the Quebec race, or rule, or flag, &c., only the tongue.) And remember that would be a double gain: (a) it would add to the number of English-speakers, and (b) it would subtract a like quantity from the number of French-speakers. They could also extinguish Dutch in South Africa, and likewise could kill all the innumerable tongues of India and make the 300,000,000 inhabitants of India all English-speaking. The same in Egypt, &c., &c. Again, as I have already said, the bigger a tongue is the more attractions it has for smaller communities. For instance, it would pay Holland to discard Dutch and adopt English, but it would not pay Holland anything like so much to discard Dutch and adopt French. Why? Because English is the bigger tongue, being spoken by three times as many people as French, and also being spoken by communities far stronger owing to various circumstances (vaster area, insular position, &c.) than the French-speaking communities. Again, the 150,000,000 English-speakers could cause the whole of South America to speak English. They could probably persuade South America, by pointing out and offering advantages,

to adopt English of her own accord, but if she refused, the said English-speakers are strong enough to carry their point by force, all the more so as nine-tenths of South America is at present uninhabited. All that would be necessary would be to see that the future population of the said uninhabited nine-tenths was English-speaking. As for the remaining tenth, it could also be converted to English, because (a) it is split into Spanish, Portuguese and Indian tongues, (b) it is scattered, and (c) it is not numerous. I do not mean that South America should be filled by folk of English and American race, or that it should be administered by England or the United States, or that any part of it should be brought under the English or American flag. Far from that. What I mean is simply this: that race, flag, rule, administration, and all else should remain exactly as at present, but that the language be changed to English.

Likewise the English-speakers could secure the adoption of English by China. As it is, English is a sort of general means of communication already in China, being used in the ports, in trade, &c. In fact, I believe that Chinamen from different parts of China can only understand each other by means of the broken English current in the ports, as the various languages of China are mutually unintelligible. If sufficient inducement were offered I don't think there would be much difficulty in getting China to accept English. Again I repeat I do not mean English flag, or rule, or anything else, only the English language. The advantage to China of adopting English would be enormous, and in addition to the natural advantages which would accrue, special inducements could be offered. If China refused, the English-speakers are strong enough to enforce its adoption. China herself could offer no serious resistance (she is not united), the opposition would come from other Powers.

Japan has given some study to the English language;

I believe most educated Japanese speak it, and also that it is largely taught in the Japanese schools. Japan likewise would gain enormously by adopting English.

As I have previously said, the only European country of very great importance is Russia. If Russia could be induced to adopt English, the battle would be won. If she were to do so, she would reap tremendous advantages. She would find in every scheme she undertook that England and the United States would be on her side. (I have mentioned this in a previous chapter.) It would also effect a beneficent revolution in her domestic affairs. The bane of Russia (and also of all other countries, though to a lesser extent) is poverty. What Russia wants is not votes, nor parliaments, &c. (only a small minority care about that), but money. All the *serious* unrest in Russia has an economic basis. The adoption of English by Russia (or by any other country) would secure for her the following advantages :

- (a) If desired, the abolition of conscription. Russia would be unbeatable on account of the firm support of England and the United States.
- (b) If desired, an immense reduction in the expenditure on army and navy.
- (c) The settlement of all questions in the Near, Middle and Far East (or anywhere else) entirely in Russia's favour. England and the United States would not object to such a settlement if Russia spoke English, because anything in Russia's favour would likewise be in favour of the other two lands.
- (d) The absolute certainty that there could never be any war or armaments or dissension between Russia and England and the United States.
- (e) The absolute certainty that in any war or dispute whatsoever between Russia and any other country, England and the United States

would be wholly and unreservedly on the side of Russia.

- (f) All the above circumstances would immensely increase Russia's credit. She would be able to convert her existing heavy debt to a lower rate of interest and would be able to raise money for her development in larger quantities and at cheaper rates.
- (g) All the foregoing would conspire to stimulate Russia's trade and production, by diminishing the burdens now weighing on the population.
- (h) If Russia spoke English it would mean that (*omitting future possibilities, which would be enormous*) more than half Europe, practically all North America, Australia, part of South Africa, and a large part of Asia (Siberia) would speak the same tongue. In other words, and taking present-day figures, it would mean that not far short of 300,000,000 people would speak the same tongue: English. This in itself would stimulate immensely all trade and industry and thus increase prosperity.
- (i) If Russia adopted English, it would only be a question of time before four-fifths of the world (as previously explained) would speak English. Therefore such adoption would be the prelude to the extinction in perpetuity of armaments and war.

Probably many advantages in addition to the above would result from the change.

You may ask: "But why should Russia change to English? Why shouldn't England, &c., change to Russian?" The answer is: "Because England, &c., would not gain so many advantages, and because such change would be more difficult, in fact, impossible. For instance, the United States and England would not be enabled to abolish conscription, because they have no conscription at present. Likewise the burden

of armaments does not bear so heavily on the English fold for various reasons ; for instance, they are wealthier. Again, the Russian population is far less educated than the English and American—only a very small percentage can read and write. The material you would have to work on would thus be more malleable, would not be so firmly fixed to its tongue. Likewise Russia is a single autocracy, therefore such a reform can be done quicker and easier than it could be done by the various democratic governments of the English-speakers."

It need not be thought that I am unreasonable in my adhesion to English. As I have said before, any country gains by the *total* extinction of its language. If the English language were to suddenly vanish and Russian to take its place, England and the United States would gain enormously thereby ; because in such case England, the United States and Russia would still speak the same tongue, though in this case it would not be English but Russian. But in practice, as explained above, it is very much easier and more advantageous for Russia to adopt English than for the United States and England to adopt Russian.

CHAPTER XXV.

THERE is no need to develop further the central idea of this book ; the conclusions to be arrived at are obvious. Take the most inoffensive man and administer to him some drug or intoxicant, or inoculate him with the virus of some fell disease, and immediately he changes out of all recognition. But the change is not due to the man but to the drug or disease. Remove them and he becomes the same as usual. In exactly the same manner, if you take the most peaceful community and introduce therein a second language, at once dissension, armaments and war make their appearance. There is no Dutch question in England. But there would be if there were any Dutch language in England. There is no German question in France. But introduce the German tongue and there would be at once. If Paris spoke only German it would be dead against the rest of France and all for Germany. And so on. It may seem that this book is written solely from the English standpoint. That, however, is not the case. All that appears in this book applies with exactly equal force to every country (or century) that has ever been, that exists in the world to-day or, I can also say, that ever will exist. There is no exception. If you ask me whether the policy I advocate in this book is ever likely to be put in force, I can only answer : it can be done and it should be done. It is worth doing. A one-tongue world wherefrom armaments and war are banished, not for a century, nor for ten centuries, but for ever, is worth striving for. A world under one rule or flag is rubbish. As many rules and nations as you like, but only one tongue. In any case, it would take time

to effect this policy to the full. But if it be done in part great benefit will ensue. If, in consequence of this book, war and armaments be banished in perpetuity from even one corner of the world, these lines will not have been written in vain.

I have attempted in this book to point out (and to convince others) what I believe to be the true and only road to peace. Whether it be followed or not, there lies the road.

THE END.

S. G. M.
4/2/21













